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Library Trends

Current Trends in Bibliography

ROY B. STOKES, *Issue Editor*

April, 1959

Library Trends

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LIBRARY TRENDS, a quarterly journal of librarianship, provides a medium for evaluative recapitulation of current thought and practice, searching for those ideas and procedures which hold the greatest potentialities for the future.

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Library Trends

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Current Trends in Bibliography

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Introduction

MANY WRITERS have pointed out the imprecise definition of the term bibliography as it is used currently. It is not the purpose of this issue to provide a new definition, although Fredson Bowers in his discussion of the functions of bibliography attempts to clarify the distinctions between the various forms of bibliography. Instead, for the record and as an assistance to the reader, a brief summary of several available definitions compiled from a number of the sources mentioned throughout this issue is provided below.

It should be remembered that originally the term bibliographer referred to a person who wrote or copied a book or manuscript. This meaning of the term now, except in the most general sense, is no longer used. *Bibliography* refers to books, whether in printed or written form, as physical and intellectual entities. In fact, much of the confusion in the use of the term stems from its application to a book as both a physical and an intellectual entity. Therefore, most writers in the field are inclined to draw their major differentiation between these two. The table which follows is so divided:

I. Study of the Book itself as a *Physical Entity*, a material object:

PURPOSE: accurate, precise identification and description	Analytical or Critical Bibliography	Textual Bibliography
		Study and comparison of texts and their transmission through editions and printings
		Historical Bibliography
		Placing and dating of individual books
		Descriptive Bibliography
		Identification of the "ideal copy" and all its variants

II. Study of the Book as an *Intellectual Entity*:

PURPOSE: assembling of information about individual books into a logical and useful arrangement	Enumerative or Systematic Bibliography	Compilation of lists of books

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The several articles in this issue of *Library Trends* which follow cover in varying degree all of these aspects of bibliography. They serve to establish the present state of bibliographic method as well as of bibliographical production. They also suggest the directions or developments for bibliographical activity in the immediate future.

It may be of interest to our readers to note that this issue of *Library Trends* comes closer than ever before to our ideal of a non-national approach to a problem of librarianship. The bibliographic science, it is evident, knows no national boundaries; bibliography with its students and scholars is found in any and every literate society. Even at that, and an indication of the difficulty of attaining the ideal, the present issue draws heavily upon English language materials, to the exclusion of other languages, for its examples and references.


General References

Percy Freer. *Bibliography and Modern Book Production*: notes and sources for student librarians, printers, booksellers, stationers, book-collectors. Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University Press, 1954. 345p.

Louise Noele Malclès. *La Bibliographie*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1956.

Edwin Eliott Willoughby. *The Uses of Bibliography to the Students of Literature and History*. Hamden, Conn., Shoe String Press, 1957. 105p.

H.L.



The Function of Bibliography

FREDSON BOWERS

LIBRARIANS ARE COMMON USERS of enumerative bibliographies and check lists, but they are not so likely to take full advantage of descriptive bibliographies and of the more detailed and accurate information that these contain. The reason for this neglect is perhaps threefold: (1) many librarians have little or no acquaintance with analytical bibliography and thus do not understand the revolution that this method has caused in the techniques of differentiating, arranging, and describing books; (2) wanting this knowledge, they do not comprehend the relatively simple technical language in which descriptive bibliography (based on analytical) is written, and so do not try to cope with the valuable information offered in such works; (3) the result is to lead librarians to treat scholarly descriptive bibliographies as if they were only more diffusely written check lists and thus to ignore their full potential value in the normal identification and cataloging process by which books are prepared for scholarly users.

Since many scholars, these days, require more information about the characteristics and status of books they are working with than librarians may always have the training to provide, an increasingly serious split is developing between the very two groups that should be most closely joined in mutual concerns. Any divergence of interests here is wrong. Moreover, the practical effects may have serious consequences because of the non-bibliographical scholar's dependence upon the librarian to catalog books correctly and to provide the final authoritative word on the significance of the variant forms of books used as primary research sources, such as editions, issues, impressions. When the librarian's catalog entries conceal information, or provide positive misinformation, serious harm may follow.

The question of the librarian's understanding of modern analytical bibliography and its purposes goes much farther than catalog entries

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(important as it is that these should be full and accurate). Knowledgeable purchase of books and the building of collections, as well as knowledgeable preservation of books by retaining apparently similar copies or commonly disregarded variant forms, are all involved. Over and above these practical considerations, however, one may appeal to the anomaly that is created by indifference to a modern scholarly discipline that treats the very source of a librarian's vocation: the book and its contents.

This paper, then, attempts a rapid survey of the relation of analytical bibliography, and its derivative, descriptive bibliography, to librarians serving the general literary as well as the more specialized textual scholar.

Analytical bibliography concentrates on the examination of books as tangible objects in order to recover the details of the physical process of their manufacture. At its most general, this form of bibliography attempts to discover the principles of the production process as these may be determined from a close study of the exact details of the methods of printing in various periods. At its more particular, analytical bibliography attempts to apply this general knowledge to an analysis of the specific effects of the printing process on the physical characteristics of any given book considered as part of an edition, and of any of this edition's variant copies that compose impressions, issues, or states. The evidence utilized is circumstantial and physical, and the method, it may be said, is inductive.

Although in some respects analytical bibliography is at the root of all other forms, even of the historical and the enumerative branches, it provides in a more important manner the foundation for descriptive and for textual bibliography, both of particular concern to the librarian and to the scholar or critic. A book cannot be described correctly (except by accident) unless the method of its printing has first been determined by analysis. Moreover, the determination of the true primary (or substantive) editions of a text, and then of the details of the transmission of this text through various editions and impressions—a necessary prelude to the establishment of the most correct form of this text—is an operation inseparable from analytical bibliography.

In at least one important fundamental, a descriptive bibliography differs from an enumerative bibliography: a descriptive bibliography invariably concerns itself with the ordered arrangement, analysis, and description of primary documents, whereas an enumerative (or systematic) bibliography may treat primary, or secondary, or a mixture

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of both. For instance, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the English Restoration Printed Drama to 1700*, on which this writer is presently engaged, will list only the primary documents, the texts of the plays in their editions and variants. *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* enumerates a large selection of Restoration dramas (though not the varied forms taken by issues and states within the editions), but adds a listing of the modern editions of the texts and of a number of secondary documents about the plays and their authors: the critical and historical studies that examine these plays, their significance and their history.

Such an enumerative bibliography in the bareness of its identification of the primary documents and the copiousness of reference to the secondary documents shows that it is aimed at the general scholar or student who wants to read about the plays as much as (or more than) he is concerned to study the primary texts, that is, the plays themselves in their original forms, with any particularity. On the contrary, a descriptive bibliography might be said to aim itself ultimately at the textual critic, who is charged with establishing the texts of the substantive cultural documents, although it will also be of particular interest to all scholars who need to examine the documents directly and thus must have the most authoritative forms isolated and identified, to those who wish to study the transmission of the text and therefore need to know all the documentary forms that the text has assumed in its contemporary publishing history, to students of analytical bibliography who need to be informed about the printing history of the documents, to students of publishing history, and to collectors and librarians who are concerned to acquire these documents in all their varied forms for the use of scholars.

In comparing an enumerative bibliography devoted to the same primary documents—or a catalog or a check list—with a descriptive bibliography like Sir Walter W. Greg's *English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, one thread runs throughout all the differences: the descriptive form is always contrived with a far greater rigor and precision. For example, a descriptive bibliography should be completely definitive in the number of primary documents listed. The personal, far-ranging research that goes into the investigation of the books, and the scrupulous comparison of multiple copies, in most cases will turn up previously unknown editions and issues, and sometimes even previously unknown titles. The items in this comprehensive listing are then identified and arranged in a definitive manner, false dates are

exposed, piracies are isolated and dated, the use of standing-type from one edition to another is analyzed and recorded, and a careful distinction is made between the impressions, issues, and states of each edition described. If the descriptive bibliographer has annotated his entries copiously with records of publishers' advertisements, identification of printers by their types and ornaments, lists of documents advertising the books, accounts of copyrighting, and so on, the notes to the description can hold information of much wider interest than that concerned merely with the identification.

The descriptive bibliographer differs from the cataloger or enumerator in that he is required to describe what is technically known as the "ideal copy" of any edition, a description that includes a full account of all variations from this ideal norm comprising the kind of copy of the book in its most complete and perfected state that the publisher intended to issue to the public.¹ On the other hand, the cataloger ordinarily confines himself to a copy at hand, without inquiring very widely, if at all whether it is truly representative of the edition as a whole. Moreover, in the process of finding out just what is this "ideal" form of the copy, with all its variants (and how they were printed), a bibliographer must directly compare a large number of apparent duplicates, personally and in detail, in an effort to exhaust the possibility that any unknown forms will turn up in the future. In this investigation discoveries are often made that would forever remain concealed from the cataloger. Another consequence not commonly recognized is that the descriptive bibliographer writes a description by no means of one copy, but instead of the edition as a whole from the numerous copies that he has seen. The peculiarities of any single copy, therefore, are never given undue prominence, for the "ideal copy" as formulated from the analysis of multiple examples is that described, and all variation is listed from this definitive norm.

It may come as something of a shock to the cataloger, trained to record only the characteristics of the copy before him, to be faced with the paradox that in some occasional instances the bibliographer's "ideal copy" may very likely never have been issued in any concrete example by a publisher. On the one hand, therefore, the cataloger may be busy describing the single copy at hand, whereas the bibliographer may be concerned to analyze and describe, at the other end of the process, a copy that does not exist. Most commonly this odd split in theory and procedure occurs when parts of a book have been

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separately printed and are joined in random combinations by the binder.

The simplest example ordinarily met with is the nonce collection—such as those made from any available Dryden quartos between 1691 and 1695—in which a group of independent books designed for separate sale is formed for issue as a collection under a general title-page. Intermediate would be the 1611 to 1617 Spenser Folios described by F. R. Johnson in his Spenser bibliography, in which reprinted sheets complicate the changing combinations of editions collected. At the other extreme would be such a book as James I's *Basilicon Doron* (1603) printed in two different shops simultaneously, but in the binding-up these sheets were so mixed together at random that no extant copy is pure and hence the bibliographer must describe as "ideal" two non-existent synthetic examples composed of the separated sheets according to the printing. On occasion a bibliographer will need to hypothesize "ideal" blank leaves missing in all observed copies, although this is a tricky business too diverse in its details to be pursued here.

A librarian is the necessary intermediary between the book and the scholar. It is the librarian who in the first instance decides to buy a particular book to make it available. Of course, the librarian must have the tools of his trade and therefore must rely on various published guides such as *Short Title Catalogue*, Wing, Evans, and so on, to lead him to purchases and to identify what he has bought; or, the other way around sometimes, the guides by their identification may stimulate the purchase. For some years the effects of inverted values have been felt, in that bibliographies too often have been written for the collector and librarian purchaser, and not for the ultimate consumer, the scholar-critic and student. But of late the most advanced descriptive bibliographies have had the scholar chiefly in mind (since what is good for the scholar is certainly good for the librarian, though not necessarily vice versa), and therefore the librarian should be aware of what the scholar needs in a descriptive bibliography.²

Any critic needs to have a complete account of all editions within the scope of the bibliography, and he requires these to be arranged in correct order so that he can go to a primary edition for his text, and not to a corrupt derived edition. Moreover, once this primary edition is established, the critic wants to know whether the copy he holds in his hand is complete in every respect and whether it does or does not have all the physical variants that have been established by

careful examination of multiple copies as existing within this edition (including the order of printing or of issue of such variants). That is, he has a vital need to know what the bibliographer has been able to determine is the "ideal copy." But editions other than the primary are still of interest, for the bibliographer may not be able to tell the critic whether fresh authority has entered to alter or revise the text during its publishing and printing history, unless the fact were announced in such an edition. The transmission of a text is always a question of scholarly importance; and hence the need for the identification of piracies, of falsely dated editions, of copies that are really issues or impressions, or only partly reset, masquerading as true editions.

Yet a critic who is going to make a close use of this text, and therefore is concerned with its accuracy, wants to know more. He wants to know something of the odds whether the copy he holds in his hand will or will not be identical with the whole of the edition described. To this end the description in the bibliography must be full and detailed enough to identify his copy as an authentic member of the edition noted, in such and such an impression, issue, and variant state. Moreover, the critic wants to know that enough copies have been comparatively examined before the description was made up so that the odds will favor the definitiveness of the description. In other words, the critic wants to be assured that he is not consulting a copy in some unknown variant state that might affect his conclusions; and he also needs assurance, once the identification of his copy has been established, that variants that might affect these conclusions are unlikely to exist in some other unrecorded copy. From this question are necessarily excluded the usual internal press-variants in the text proper of early books, variants that can be noticed by a descriptive bibliographer only by accident unless he is writing a very narrowly limited bibliography and can put all the copies through the Hinman collating machine.

Reprinting of a few sheets to make up a short count in the last copies to be bound, as well as later sophistication of imperfect copies with sheets from other editions, are a serious problem, to say nothing of simultaneous impressions in whole or in part from duplicate typesettings and reprinted editions (especially in the eighteenth century) from standing or from reset type, (or a mixture of the two) that resemble the original so closely that they have not been distinguished and properly analyzed. Scholars do not want to be put in the position of calling each other liars, like the two unfortunates some years back

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who were in controversy over the text of a 1715 edition of Spenser because one was using a large-paper and the other a trade-edition copy, and the typesetting, and therefore the details of the text, differed between the two for a number of pages at the start.

Finally, if the scholar is so fortunate as to be consulting a copy of the book in a library recorded by a descriptive bibliographer, and therefore a copy personally handled, he can demand that no variation should exist, save the usual press-correction, between this copy and any other of the same state, issue, impression, and edition. This should be the guarantee that a descriptive bibliographer can give.

It is clear, perhaps, that various of these requirements are not always considered or valued by librarians—or sufficiently utilized—since, erroneously, they are thought to have small immediate application to the job at hand; nevertheless, it is these requirements that shape the form of modern descriptive bibliographies that are replacing more conventional library tools. Certainly, if one is accustomed only to catalogs, one does not always appreciate the essential difference. A catalog records either just any available copy, or else a copy in a specific collection, which only by chance can be an “ideal copy.” The catalog listing, even if a chance “ideal copy” is recorded, does not necessarily provide all the information needed by the scholar, certainly not what can be furnished by a full history of the edition in question drawn up on the basis of a wide-ranging examination and analysis of multiple copies.

Too many librarians have the unfortunate custom of accepting catalogs, check lists, and so on, as adequate sources of identification (which they are not), and hence of applying to descriptive bibliographies this habit of regarding all reference tools only as means of identification. The truth is, of course, that elementary tool-books do not actually identify with sufficient accuracy to serve a scholar, who needs to have precise information about different forms of a book, nor do they analyze the reasons for their listings; and in this deficiency, therefore, they do not serve the librarian-intermediary either. Despite the more than usual care that went into the admirable Woodward and McManaway *Check List of English Plays 1641-1700*, for example, the assignment of the terms *edition* and *issue* can be erratic, and the “issues” listed under the main editions (not always in correct order) can range from simple press-variant states to actual newly typeset separate editions. The standards of check lists simply cannot meet the analytical standards of bibliographies. Moreover, as one would expect, a wider

examination of Restoration plays for the purpose of making a descriptive bibliography has uncovered a not inconsiderable number of previously unrecorded editions and issues, unknown not only to the scholars who should be using them but also to the librarians who had them in their collections.

Just this past summer this writer's search for a copy of the 1691 edition of Dryden's *Sir Martin Mar-all* with the original title-page (all previously known copies had cancels) ended at a library that had cataloged its copy only a few weeks earlier. But no one there had identified the important variant and knew what a unique gem this book actually represented. The 1691 quarto is the earliest edition to have Dryden's name on the title-page, but the original title-page now shows that the book was first printed without the name. Thus the addition of the name was thought worth the expense of cancelling the title-leaf before publication. Whether this addition of the name was an unauthorized publisher's gambit or whether Dryden had a hand in it is at present unknown, but in view of the current debate about Dryden's authorship of this play the newly discovered fact cannot fail to have some interest for students of this author. It is a little dashing that such a unique and important variant³ was not recognized by the staff of a major university's library; at the least, it shows a lack of librarian concern for the possible existence of variant forms of editions that are of scholarly significance.

Yet it cannot be too often repeated that even identification is not enough. Identification is something, of course, and that is one of the reasons for the full description of books in real bibliographies so that no rare book librarian will fail to recognize another example of the original 1691 *Sir Martin* title-leaf if one turns up, and if he bothers to check it against a bibliographical description, not just a check list, as he should be obligated to do. Yet identification, even if accurate, is not the sole purpose of descriptive bibliography. The analysis of the bibliographical facts is always of prime importance. When Sir Geoffrey Keynes, for instance, mistook the correct order of the first two editions of Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, and described the actual second as the first edition, he did not afterwards take his error very seriously, no doubt because he felt no great harm had been done since the two were at least identified as different editions.

This may be a collector's point of view, but it is not a scholar's; and this writer trusts that it is not a librarian's either. The objection goes deeper than the first edition prices paid by libraries to secure copies

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of the second: in this case the librarian purchaser was forced by bad bibliography to become an unfaithful intermediary, since he acquiesced in the offer to the scholar of an incorrect text that was not what it purported to be. It is not enough—to take another familiar case—to list the two earliest editions of Dryden's *Wild Gallant* (1669) in reverse order in Macdonald because of insufficient bibliographical analysis. The descriptive bibliographer must guarantee to the scholar the correct order of the editions, or otherwise a corrupt reprint text will be studied as the original, and wrong scholarly assumptions will be based on the bad text. To be able to find and interpret the evidence in order to prove by analytical bibliography the actual relationship, and thus to be able to direct the scholar with confidence to the correct primary edition, requires capabilities beyond those needed by the mere compiler, content to copy what he sees before him in the book, without analysis, as in a catalog. Nevertheless, these trained capabilities are at the service of a librarian if he will use them.

The question then comes, how the librarian can utilize the information in descriptive bibliographies directed at him and, beyond him, at the scholarly ultimate consumer. The first step is to recognize that nothing can be done from ignorance, that if the librarian is to serve the scholar he must understand the scholar's requirements and something of his language, and must have a sympathetic respect for his standards. In terms of primary cultural and historical documents, this means that the librarian must understand the scholarly uses to which these books are put, and, thus, the language of descriptive bibliography that is devoted to their analysis.

Many librarians seem to feel that a great deal too much pother is made about correct bibliographical nomenclature, and they are likely to throw up their hands in despair, and disinterest, when the definitions of terms go beyond the vague usages taught in library schools, concepts so elastic as to be quite worthless to a scholar who must have the precision that alone is meaningful. What is generally taught is some simple nomenclature that will serve to catalog a book without any analysis of the book itself, and its particular form, that need be made by the cataloger. Thus to him it makes no difference, ordinarily, whether an altered title-page date was performed in press during the printing of a conjugate title-leaf, or by cancellation of the original title-leaf and the substitution of another. Or, in the latter case, whether analysis can show that the printing of the substitute was accomplished before publication, because a blank leaf in the final gathering, or else-

where, was used to print the cancel; or whether the lack of a place in the book to print a cancel leaf, and a completely new typesetting of the title, indicate that the substitute was not machined as part of the original printing.

To the scholar these distinctions are of serious importance, and it is not a light matter for accurate reference and for the interpretation of publishing history whether one is called a variant state and another a re-issue. A librarian who makes a virtue of ignorance and disclaims the ability to cope with such problems is failing his scholarly clients and is not a useful person to have as an intermediary. Such a one, indeed, will have little idea of what is contained in descriptive bibliographies, because he cannot read them. He can sit on his books like a hen on a clutch of eggs, but what he hatches will be less useful. China door-knobs, most likely.

It is not an injustice to the Henry E. Huntington Library to recall that some years ago a determined effort was made to dispose of Elizabethan duplicates. The officials in charge collated the text of some of the more important literary works and kept a list, not always complete, of textual variants before they sold off the extra copies. On the other hand, they carefully preserved duplicates with slight title-page variation made in press, since these were, presumably thought of as "bibliographical" variants. In this writer's view this was false bibliography, which did no service to later textual critics consulting this great library's collections in order to record and analyze the variants in text that are likely to appear in hand-printed books. If certain external variants, often of mere typographical interest, in a part of the book seldom written by the author are esteemed more highly by librarians than internal variants in the author's text, then there certainly is an inversion of values. To sell off copies that have evidence in them affecting the transmission of the author's own words in order to preserve copies with variants of minor interest to the publishing history of the book (and often not even to that) is, to this author, to mistake a library as only a collection of reference documents. It is certainly not the concept of a library as the great reservoir of materials by which scholars, including textual critics, can guard the purity of the transmission of our cultural heritage. This last is the admirable way of the Bodleian Library, of the British Museum or of the Folger Shakespeare Library; but it is not a concept as common in the United States as it should be.

The problem of duplicates is intimately connected with this biblio-

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graphical view but is definitely too large a subject to do justice to here even though it often serves as a test case of a librarian's understanding of and sympathy with scholarly requirements. If a library is thought of chiefly as a storehouse of reference material, and if uncommon books are preserved to be read only because there are no modern editions of the text, then it is true that one copy may seem to be as good as another, and even—in extreme cases—any edition. But if, instead, the living text is preserved in these books, then a scholar finds it very odd that a library selling its duplicates would prefer to keep a record in its files of textual variants, which a scholar could not trust because he had not himself made the collation, rather than a record of minor external variants of little consequence to the all-important contents, and then to dispose of the textually important copies instead of the textually unimportant. It is very probable that the emphasis placed on the collection of known and readily observable external variants like title-page alteration, correction of page numbers, and so on, has been fostered by the attention given to such features in collectors' lore and certainly in bibliographical description. But from the point of view of an analytical bibliographer it is this writer's observation that not many collectors know why they are collecting these immediately ascertainable variants, or why such matters are listed in detail in a descriptive bibliography. It is good that collectors and libraries do acquire them, for the variants constitute part of the printing history of the book and are therefore of bibliographical interest. Insofar as they sometimes reflect other alteration, they may be the outward signs of accompanying textual disruption. However, unless a textual tie-in can be established, of themselves they are interesting but not crucial in comparison to the concealed variance within the text.

It is too easy to wax satirical about the piling up of duplicates through ignorance, but the hard fact is that a scholar would prefer this enlightened confession of ignorance ⁴ to the misdirected sophistication that in the naughty past led the Huntington Library to dispose of some of its most interesting documents on the basis of a false sense of values. If an institution thinks of itself as a reading library chiefly, then it can be content with one copy of a selection of our cultural primary documents. If an institution has taken upon itself the responsibility for the preservation of our heritage (and this, one likes to think, is the function of the great university, public, and private libraries), then its custodians must come to a better understanding of the wide scholarly reasons for the preservation and use of old books. Otherwise,

these documents will not be preserved, as happened at the Huntington, or at the least will not be knowledgeably acquired throughout the years for scholarly use.

When this stage is reached it is clear that the librarian is ultimately as responsible in his collections for the accuracy of the texts on which our culture is based as he is for the accuracy of the reference material on his shelves, and to this end he must join forces with the analytical rather than with the enumerative bibliographer. It is quite false that bibliography sets itself apart from literary considerations. Although its method is not literary, in that it deals with tangible evidence instead of with value-judgments, analytical bibliography is as much concerned with the form of the contents of a book (textual bibliography) as it is with the form of its external dress (descriptive bibliography). It is only one part of bibliography's function to investigate the printing history of an edition of a book and to record the findings in a definitive technical description that is not subject to opinion and is internationally intelligible. This is merely the first step, for after this basic information has been gathered, analyzed, and recorded, bibliography turns to the contents to investigate their primary accuracy and the accuracy of the transmission through successive editions even to the present day. Since the first world war, with a particularly rapid advance after the second world war, bibliography has been enlarging its bounds as it has become the legitimate province of academic scholarship instead of the business of the book-trade. However, in the libraries, where these new functions of bibliography should be best understood, the officials (even those charged with the collection of rare books) have not invariably kept pace with postwar developments either in their training or in their interests, and various ones are still too likely to resign the challenge that this expanding new discipline presents them. When this happens, the demands of the most advanced new scholarship of today meet too often with no comprehension, to say nothing of sympathy, from the very persons who should be the scholars' most faithful allies against the philistines.

The attitude seems to be increasing that the training of a librarian is that of a mere custodian. The more widely this fallacy is accepted, the less incentive there is in the librarian's preparation to learn about books from the scholarly, which is to say the bibliographical, point of view.⁵ If this trend continues, a dangerous split—already widening—will come permanently to separate the cooperative understanding that should exist between the librarian builders of the collections of the

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primary documents on which our civilization rests and the scholarly analysts and preservers of this culture, among whom descriptive and textual bibliographers of the new school play a role that is not necessarily humble.

Bibliographical Notes

1. For a discussion of this bibliographically important concept of "ideal copy" see: Bowers, F. T.: *Principles of Bibliographical Description*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1949, pp. 6-8, 113-123.

2. He should also be aware of the needs of the writers of descriptive bibliographies, for which see: Bowers, F. T.: Certain Basic Problems in Descriptive Bibliography. *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 42:211-288, Third Quarter, 1949.

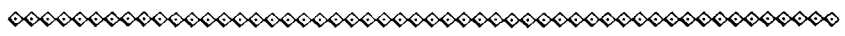
3. Since writing this, I have learned that the Bodleian Library also acquired a copy, so that at least two are now known.

4. I am thinking here of the great research libraries in this country and in England. One may certainly be sympathetic with a library of moderate size and means that gives two copies a searching page-by-page comparison—though short of textual collation—and then decides to sell off what appears to be a true duplicate. (Only collation on the Hinman machine, of course, could establish exact duplication and thus truly justify sale of extra copies.) These libraries are accepting the view that their function is to hold a copy of the book for reference and for general use, not for specific study as a text. However, even the greatest of the research libraries cannot carry the full load; and if libraries in the second and third ranges refuse to shoulder some responsibility in the matter of texts, scholars are going to suffer from a serious lacunae in preserved materials. That valuable independent contributions can be made by libraries of moderate size is shown by the experience of the University of Virginia Library, which holds some quantities of machine-printed duplicates in American literature. These collections have fostered vital bibliographical studies in modern printing of literary texts, such as concealed impressions, printing from duplicate plates, plate-damage, textual changes in plates made in impressions after the first, and other pioneer investigations impossible to carry on if a policy of selling apparent duplicates had been adopted. This library's "ignorance" has paid off handsomely in concrete research at no very great expense.

5. I am often impressed in England by the breadth of librarians' interests, as much in the college libraries of the universities as in the special collections and the great research libraries like the British Museum, the Bodleian, University Library Cambridge, and the National Library of Scotland. This catholicity contrasts with the narrowly specialized interests likely to be found in the United States whereby one person will know a great deal about general cataloging procedure but little about the acquisition and special problems of rare books. Unless I am mistaken, the general refusal in England to separate "rare books" as an isolated category with its own isolated staff is a good thing on the whole, since it leads to a wider dissemination of information about them and to a more normal treatment. In this country the rare book curator often talks a language incompre-

hensible to his colleagues. And, even then, it is a hard fact that few rare book curators, so far as have been observed, in this country have had the proper training for their positions. They may become expert custodians, shrewd operators at auctions; but the scholars' language is too often as strange to them as theirs is to the catalogers and the delivery desk supervisors with whom they lunch.

This is not to say that in the United States, as in England, we are utterly wanting in scholar-librarians. In both countries there are men who not only keep pace with bibliographical developments but are intimately a cause and a part of bibliographical scholarship, men who indeed may be counted among our eminent bibliographers. Even though in too many cases there is a shocking divide between the ideals of scholars and the preconceptions of librarians, the gulf is occasionally bridged. When two scholars confer, the source of their immediate employment is of no consequence. On the other hand, when a scholar tries to talk to a technician-custodian of the modern school who is often in charge of rare book collections, he must shout across a chasm of no-sympathy and no-comprehension. If only there were more young men and women who would take a liberal arts M.A. or Ph.D. in literature and history as preparation for librarianship. They are badly needed to head the research collections. Here, those who do and those who keep should be one and the same. What librarians need (as has been remarked to this author) is love of knowledge, not love of books. I trust this is not heresy.



Manuscripts and the Library

W. H. BOND

MANUSCRIPTS ARE AT LEAST as varied in form, content, and material as any other general class of artifacts. Even a relatively small library may contain specimens as widely different as clay tablets and modern correspondence, papyri, and recent literary papers. The manuscript department may even be regarded as a suitable place for "anything that is not a book"—clippings, photographs, prints, memorabilia, and so on. But let us not even consider such counsels of desperation.

Like all artifacts that are not mass produced, every manuscript is unique. Spanning a much longer period of time than printed books, infinitely more varied in their physical characteristics, manuscripts do not yield to such a systematic approach as that which has been so fruitful during the last half century when applied to the bibliography of printed books.¹ The field is made up of a great many small specialties, the only unifying principle being that all materials in it were written by hand (and some with the intervention of a writing-machine). Even a generously staffed manuscript department can hardly supply an expert to deal with every problem that arises, while in most libraries a relatively few catalogers and reference librarians must cope with this staggering variety.

The quantities are often staggering too. The amount of shelving that would accommodate four or five hundred printed volumes might easily hold boxes containing twenty or thirty thousand pieces of correspondence, each with some claim to individual attention, each needing to be so located that it can be found or referred to at will. And such a correspondence may well be only one among several received in a year's accessions, and one among many in a library's holdings. Pressure on some of the largest archival repositories is so great that they have been reduced to describing collections simply in terms of the linear or cubic feet they occupy. They are flooded with archives in such

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number and size that no other course is possible, the alternative being either dead storage or destruction. It is a fortunate library that has a large enough staff to deal with its manuscript acquisitions in the detail they deserve, and a fortunate reader whose research centers in such a library.

Manuscripts are so varied in content that they may defy all but the broadest kinds of cataloging. A printed book is usually the end product of a process of synthesis, if not of pure creation; it is a purposive drawing together of elements with a definite aim in mind. Manuscripts, on the other hand, are truly raw material, and are far more likely to be diffuse and unsystematic in their contents. Unless, of course, the manuscript represents the penultimate stage in the production of a printed book. One need only consider the problem of making a full subject-catalog based on, say, Pepys's diary or the correspondence of Goethe—and then multiply the result by the number of such items in manuscript in a good-sized library. The task is immense, and its result to some extent unpredictable. No two persons would index such complex bodies of material in precisely the same way or with the same emphasis. Furthermore, even the wisest subject-cataloger cannot anticipate every question that might be brought to a collection of papers and answered by them. Chronology itself is against the cataloger: who among those who amassed and preserved the papers of the early missionaries in the Pacific could have guessed that these manuscripts would solve problems involving the works of Herman Melville, or help prepare the successful invasion of fortified islands in a great war?

It is not enough to consider only the manuscripts themselves in attacking the special problems involved in cataloging them. Manuscripts are collected, preserved, and cataloged for readers who are usually more specialized in their interests and more advanced in scholarly technique than the general run of readers of printed books. It is reasonable to assume, though the assumption is sometimes over-optimistic, that a scholar turning to manuscripts will have thoroughly explored the printed sources available to him, and will be in command of the basic facts involved. Not only will he have a special point of view, but he will also have a good idea of what he is looking for, and he will be able to fend for himself to a greater degree than the average library user. He will expect to be led to his material, but not told all about it; elaborately detailed cataloging will be wasted, because he will rightly prefer to draw conclusions based upon his own examination. He will ask questions if he thinks the staff can aid him further,

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and the special knowledge he brings may in turn help the cataloger to a more accurate description.

If a reader approaches manuscript material without a proper background in his subject, he is in no position to make the best use of it. The librarian has a clear moral responsibility to see that manuscripts in his care receive the best scholarly treatment possible, in so far as his control extends; he cannot, perhaps, be an absolute dictator, but he need not and should not cater to the uninformed and unprepared. In no case should a manuscript collection be regarded as a mine of unpublished material designed to produce easy publications.

The high degree of specialization among users of manuscripts also means that, from the point of view of the reader, different kinds of manuscripts require widely differing treatment at the hands of the cataloger. Medieval manuscripts will be consulted by palaeographers, historians, textual critics, art historians, and other specialists, each from his own special angle. The catalog information that will be useful to them will not greatly resemble what is needed by scholars consulting a modern literary correspondence; and this again will differ from cataloging suitable for diaries, commonplace books, diplomatic and other official papers, and so on. And not all manuscripts of the same general type and period require exactly the same treatment. For example, the correspondence of an eminent literary or political person may be filled with letters of other eminent persons, while a family correspondence (equally interesting for its own reasons) may contain no names to be found in biographical dictionaries and history books. It is obviously wasteful to analyze the latter in the same detail as the former. If the nature of manuscripts is greatly varied, the useful approaches to what manuscripts contain are infinitely more so.

It follows from these considerations that no single code of rules for cataloging manuscripts is possible, unless it is so detailed that it is unwieldy, or so general that it is virtually meaningless. Instead, manuscript cataloging requires a high degree of flexibility within a basic framework governed by common sense in accordance with the cataloging practice in other parts of the library. Certainly the headings in the manuscript catalog should conform as nearly as possible to those in the catalog of printed books, so that a reader can turn from one portion of the library to the other with a minimum of difficulty. Of course, conformity to norms established elsewhere in the library is also necessary in many subordinate details. For example, classical and medieval texts often go under widely variant titles, or no title at all,

in different manuscripts. Whatever the practice in an individual manuscript, the cataloger should adopt the accepted title employed in printed editions. It is perhaps an affectation even to use square brackets in a case like this. Once the necessary gesture of conformity has been made, the manuscript cataloger should be allowed, and should be willing to accept, a wide latitude in selecting and treating the rest of the information that makes up the catalog entry. It is his responsibility to judge to the best of his ability in each case the kind of cataloging and the degree of detail that will best serve the reader, giving him all he needs but without superfluous information. The cataloger's most useful exercise will be to try to place himself in the position of the reader. He will be aided in this by his reference correspondence and by the accumulated experience of his reading room. To this point it should be noted that the library will surely profit if the cataloger is from time to time enabled and encouraged to view the reading room from the floor rather than from the dais, and to embark upon independent research in his own and other libraries. A change of perspective can be a salutary experience. Conservation is the first obligation of the manuscript librarian for the most elaborate catalog is at best only a secondary source if the objects it describes are not carefully preserved. The two most important functions of a manuscript department and its catalog are identification, and location according to a scheme that facilitates ready and precise reference. Any additional niceties of cataloging should be supplied only when these basic requirements have been satisfied. We return again to points made earlier: even the wisest cataloger cannot anticipate the range and variety of questions to be brought to his collection in the future, and even the largest cataloging department cannot provide an expert in every field, or allow him the time for exhaustive exploration of every problem. Too elaborate cataloging trespasses at least to some extent upon the sphere of the reader. It is not the business of the library in every case to say the last word about the materials in its care.

This must not be taken to mean that the manuscript librarian's functions should be confined to conservation, identification, and location. He can and should perform many other services for the reader. But it is more sensible to supply many of the possible refinements on a demand or reference basis, of course always recording any advance in basic knowledge about a given manuscript or collection.

The manuscript department should be prepared to offer aid and advice in the decipherment of difficult hands and the dating of manu-

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scripts from physical evidence. In dealing with both of these problems there is no substitute for experience. But as an aid to dating, the library might well maintain a catalog file of its dated specimens, as least those earlier than 1600 or even 1700. The number of useful palaeographic works increases yearly, incorporating excellent facsimiles with diplomatic transcripts to help train the reader's eye. A library with any considerable number of early manuscripts should also keep up to date with its printed works on palaeography. The manuscript department should be ready to supply or to assist a reader to prepare a more elaborate physical description of the manuscripts in its collection. For example, a simple enumeration of the leaves of a codex is sufficient for cataloging purposes, but special studies may require a detailed collation, sometimes with notes on ruling, ink, and such matters. The department should be equipped with at least a few basic tools for scientific examination: low-power magnification, a simple raking light, an ultra-violet lamp.² If it cannot provide its own photographic services, it should have arrangements with a good photographic laboratory to provide readers not only with photostats and microfilms, but also with color, high-contrast, ultraviolet, and infrared photography if needed.³ Perhaps it is needless to add that the library should be well provided with the basic printed reference works indispensable in the study of manuscripts: dictionaries, catalogs, indexes of incipits, and other books which surely need no enumeration here.

The rather discursive nature of these remarks should not disguise the fact that progress in manuscript studies as they apply to library problems is significant, continuous, and extremely useful. The progress is on many fronts, and involves many specialties, some of which are divided by gulfs as great as that between the hand-printed book and that produced by photographic typesetting. But most libraries cannot afford the luxury of continual detailed refinement of their catalogs as advances are made. The degree of application of these advances and the balance between maximum and minimum cataloging must be determined by pragmatic considerations based on the amount of staff time available in relation to the amount of material to be handled. In fact, so many variables are involved in the establishment and maintenance of a practical cataloging scheme in any given library that a national or regional union catalog of manuscripts presents much more complex problems than a union catalog of printed books. Whatever the level of cataloging practice that a given library is able to adopt, the best service to the reader—which is, after all, the *raison d'être* of the library

—is to preserve his source material, identify it accurately but not elaborately, and make it readily available to him. The reading room is in the highest sense a court for the examination of evidence, evidence which must be guarded from deterioration no less than from tampering, and must be presented as fairly and completely as possible. The jury very properly will prefer to bring in its own verdicts.

Bibliographical Notes

1. An excellent summary of the present state of technical knowledge concerning medieval manuscripts and their production is by G. S. Ivy, The Bibliography of the Manuscript-Book, *The English Library before 1700*, ed. by Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright, London, 1958, pp. 32-65. There is no similar comprehensive study dealing with the bibliographical problems of modern manuscripts, papers, documents, and correspondence.

2. The best summary discussion of such instruments and their use is still R. B. Haselden's monograph, *Scientific Aids for the Study of Manuscripts*. Oxford: for the Bibliographical Society, 1935, which also contains much additional useful information on allied topics.

3. Besides Haselden's notes on special photography, there should be noted the more detailed study by A. H. Smith, The Photography of Manuscripts, *London Mediaeval Studies*, 1:179-201, 1938. An interesting exploration of the use of the Polaroid Land Camera in combination with a low-power microscope was made by Evelyn Seltzer Ehrlich, Photomicrography as a Bibliographical Tool, *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 4:123-126, Winter 1950.



Printed Books to 1640

JULIAN ROBERTS

BIBLIOGRAPHY IS A TECHNIQUE PROPER to librarians. There are many outstanding exceptions to this resoundingly simple statement, but it nevertheless remains true that the librarian is the principal interpreter and beneficiary of the evidence which books, through their physical features, offer about themselves. One of the librarian's most elementary acts, that of cataloging, is bibliographical in nature, in that it records without comment or explanation, certain evidence offered by the book concerning itself, which must be sufficient to differentiate it from other books. To take an example, if one catalogs a book called *The Shield of Achilles* published in 1955, such information is only sufficient to differentiate this compilation from other books by the same author, and from other books which have on their title pages, "*The Shield of Achilles*, Second edition, 1962" and so on. The information recorded fails to reveal that the book is not about the Trojan War or ancient armor.

The trends to be considered in this article are given fundamental unity by the fact that they all arise from attempts to interpret and use knowledge derived from the differentiation of books by means of their physical characteristics. It is this differentiation which gives unity to the subject called bibliography (historical or analytical bibliography, that is, as opposed to subject "bibliography," the listing of books and articles by their subjects). The various uses made of this knowledge range in complexity from the distinguishing of books, editions, and perhaps issues, which is necessary for the compilation of union and short title catalogs, to the microscopic precision of Charlton Hinman's collation of the copies of the First Folio of Shakespeare in the Folger Library. No survey of bibliographical trends can afford to omit work done at either end of this spectrum, and the present consideration will follow the pattern of increasing complexity; the information derived from bibliography varies with the sophistication of its method. A point

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to insist on, is that the method of bibliography is essentially scientific. Let the collating machine stand as the symbol of bibliography at its most refined.

When once the fundamental unity of bibliography has been conceded, it will be seen that there is scope within the discipline for skills perfected for one use to be transferred to another. Since within one period the technique of printing remained conservative, it is perfectly conceivable that methods to investigate the printing of the First Folio of Shakespeare might reveal much about the printing of the 42-line Bible. The general consistency of printing house practice insures that a corpus of "pure" knowledge with no immediate application can be built up, which may be of vital importance to later investigation. For example, the knowledge that Quartos 2-6 of Shakespeare's *Richard III* are derivative prints, each being reprinted from its predecessor, is of negative importance, but the knowledge of this becomes of positive importance in the consideration of the copy used for the First Folio.

The temptation to see bibliography as a sort of universal guide to culture, economics, and history is one that its practitioners find hard to resist. "Historical bibliography, in short, is the study of books as direct evidence of almost all those various movements towards literacy and self-determination which have constituted the general history of Europe since the Renaissance."¹ True; but one must not place too much weight on one's supporting evidence. To take an extreme example, one might deduce from bibliographical evidence—decline in standards of production, increase in vernacular theological material, the use of false imprints and of surreptitious printing, and so on—that there was a major spiritual and political upheaval in Europe from about the year 1520. But the Reformation is abundantly documented elsewhere. "A book," in Gertrude Stein's immortal words, "is a book is a book."

Short title and union catalogs are probably the products of bibliographical investigation which most readily proclaim and justify their usefulness to the librarian. The best known of them, A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave's *Short Title Catalogue* of 1926 represents the culmination of a whole mass of bibliographical work on the undated (or fictitiously dated and imprinted) or fragmentary books which form a considerable part of the English book production up to 1640, which it seeks to record. The fact that it is now undergoing drastic revision is as much an indication of the volume of bibliographical work

since 1926 as of the number of books which have been discovered since then.

The uses of this type of catalog are twofold—as the record of literary production during a given time and set of circumstances, and as a guide to the location of information, one of the main interests of the librarian. The comprehensive short title catalog provides a notational shorthand which although it may seem a crude method of labeling the “precious life blood of a master spirit,” yet saves a great deal of tedious repetition in subsequent works—as for instance in the works by J. C. T. Oates and David Ramage to be discussed later. That books should be bought and sold by numbers—a glance at any bookseller’s catalog will show that a book’s possession or lack of a short title catalog number has a considerable influence on its price—may seem to reduce the building of a library to the level of stamp-collecting, and entirely to blunt the librarian’s discrimination between one book and another. Subsequent generations of scholars have usually found the librarian’s discrimination an unmitigated nuisance, however, and the history of the Bodleian Library’s original copy of Shakespeare’s First Folio stands as a grim warning in this respect.

The notational advantages provided by the standard catalogs of incunabula (Hain-Copinger-Reichling, the British Museum Catalogue, Stillwell, etc.) have long been realized, and the fact that incunables commonly have no recognizable title pages makes this precise and economical identification especially desirable. For the recording of incunabula it is now deemed sufficient to give the standard short-title followed by simple references to the standard works. This is the pattern followed by Oates in *A Catalogue of Fifteenth-Century Printed Books in the University Library of Cambridge*, (1954), by Ada Thurston and C. F. Bühler in *Check List of Fifteenth Century Printing in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, (1939), and in Margaret Bingham Stillwell’s *Incunabula in American Libraries*, (1949). That this system of notation has the virtues of scientific nomenclature, in that it is international, may be seen for instance from T. M. Guarnaschelli’s and E. Valenziani’s *Indice generale degli incunabuli delle biblioteche d’Italia*, (1943), etc., and from two recent and welcome works from Yugoslavia, Josip Badalić’s *Inkunabule u Navodnoj Republici Hrvatskoj*, (1952) and Alfonz Gspan and Badalić’s *Inkunabule u Sloveniji*, (1957). A useful feature of nearly all these works is the full description of unique books, where no shorthand reference to a standard

authority is possible. A revision of Stillwell is in an advanced state of preparation and a similar work covering incunabula in British libraries is contemplated.

The most important work in this field has been done in the current revision of Pollard and Redgrave's *S.T.C.* by F. S. Ferguson and W. A. Jackson. This is still in progress, but is expected to add about two thousand titles to those hitherto recorded, in addition to a very much larger number of unrecorded editions and issues.² It is interesting to note that the old *S.T.C.* numbers have become so ingrained in library practice that they are not to be altered, but decimally expanded to admit the titles and editions hitherto unrecorded.

Two works recently published emphasize the limitations of Pollard and Redgrave as a location list. In 1926 the symbols L[ondon], O[xford], C[ambridge], and a similar number of American locations were thought sufficient indication to a scholar that a book was reasonably common. That three or four locations were insufficient for the United States with its vast distances was soon apparent, and was remedied in 1944 by William Warner Bishop's *A Checklist of American 'Short Title Catalogue' Books* (Second edition, 1950). The problem in Britain is somewhat less pressing, but the old *S.T.C.* was perhaps overweighted with the locations in the London-Oxford-Cambridge "triangle." The emergence of the newer universities as collectors of books, as well as the richness of some of the lesser known older collections, is evident from Ramage's *A Finding-List of English Books to 1640 in the Libraries of the British Isles*, (1958).³ This was not intended only as a location list, but as a guide to more systematic purchasing. "I then pointed out that without a survey of our resources libraries did not really know what best to buy, and that in the United States the list compiled by W. W. Bishop has been most successful and valuable."

A slightly less welcome trend is exemplified by the Bristol Public Libraries' *A Catalogue of Books in the Bristol Reference Library printed in England and Ireland up to the year 1640, etc.*, (1954). This is an excellently produced pamphlet, but the fragmentation of effort is to be condemned, and the money and work would be much better spent in buying more books and recording them in a union catalog such as Ramage's. A later production of the same library, *A Catalogue of Books in the Bristol Reference Library which were printed abroad in languages other than English during the years 1473-1700*, (1956) is much more to the point. Too little is known of holdings of sixteenth

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and seventeenth-century foreign books in Britain, though a catalog is being compiled in Cambridge.⁴

A number of useful lists of special categories of English books have been compiled recently:

Folke Dahl: *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks, 1620-1642*, 1952.

W. W. Greg: *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, 3 vol., 1939-57 (in progress).

A. F. Allison and D. M. Rogers: *A Catalogue of Catholic Books in English printed abroad or secretly in England, 1558-1640*, 2 pt., 1956.

The short title catalog is less well known in continental Europe than perhaps it should be; it is strange that the country which gave both printing and the "Gesamtkatalog" to the world has not undertaken an enumerative bibliography of its later work. France, Germany, and Italy have produced many catalogs by towns and by printers, and it may be that Britain in fact owes its centralized union catalogs to the pressing need voiced not only by British but by American scholars for a readily available guide to the whereabouts of English literary documents. The short title catalogs of European books issued by the British Museum (based on holdings which may be as much as a quarter of the known books produced) are therefore especially valuable. Just as the old English S.T.C. was based on lists originally issued by Cambridge University Library and the British Museum, it may be possible for European countries to base theirs upon those issued by the Museum. That for France was issued in 1924, and an index of printers is in an advanced stage of preparation. Those for Spain, Portugal, and Spanish America were published in 1921, 1926 (2nd edition 1940), and 1944. A similar volume for Germany is nearing completion.

Italy has perhaps been better served by enumerative bibliographers. In 1958, the British Museum published the *Short title Catalogue of Books printed in Italy and of Italian Books printed in other countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum*. This differed from its French predecessor in having a list of printers, a feature which will appear in subsequent volumes. An important statistical evaluation of the holdings revealed by this catalog was offered by A. F. Johnson in his article, *Italian Sixteenth Century Books*.⁵ There is a fuller study for the early years of the sixteenth century, F. J. Norton's *Italian Print-*

ers 1501-1520, (1958), and D. E. Rhodes has published a series of local studies on *The Early Bibliography of Southern Italy*, on Cosenza, Bari, Trani, Copertino, Foggia, Manfredonia and Barletta, Brindisi (in proof), and Montefusco, Benevento, and Avellino (in proof). These have been appearing in *La Bibliofilia* from Volume 56 in 1954, onwards. The same writer has also been publishing "A Bibliography of Mantua" in *La Bibliofilia* since 1955.

The Netherlands possesses, up to 1540, a comprehensive and detailed account of their book production in Wouter Nijhoff and M. E. Kronenberg's *Nederlandsche Bibliographie, van 1500 tot 1540*, (1923-1951, vol. 3 pt. 1). This is not a short title catalog, as it is very detailed, but it gives locations for copies. There appears to be little prospect of its continuation beyond 1540.

Some valuable work has recently been done in Russia on early printing, notably by A. S. Zernova (*Nachalo knigopechataniya v Moskve i na Ukraine*, 1947), who has established the existence of earlier printing than that by Ivan Fyodorov. A catalog of early printing has just been compiled by N. P. Kisilev, *Knigi kirillovskoy pechati izdannyye v Moskve v XVI - XVII vekakh. Svodnyy katalog*, (1958). This lists Moscow books in order of printers, gives collations with variants, locations and references to other bibliographies, and has a supplement of books printed outside Moscow. It appears that Russian bibliographers show greater interest in eighteenth-century books, as the earlier books are mostly in Church Slavonic.

The British Museum has in preparation a short title catalog of East European books to 1600.

Allusion has already been made to such significant work as has appeared in the form of short title and union catalogs of incunabula. Many short title catalogs—notably Pollard and Redgrave, and the British Museum series—take no notice of the fine difference between books printed before the year 1500 and those printed after. Of arbitrary distinctions such as this, S. H. Steinberg in *Five Hundred Years of Printing* writes, "Few . . . can have been more detrimental to a real understanding of an important section of human progress than the restriction of the term *incunabula* to the time from Gutenberg's first production to the 31 December 1500."⁶ However, the date is there, and for bibliographers it is the farther limit of a field of specialized study.

The study of fifteenth-century books—there is unfortunately no English equivalent of the precise German *Inkunabelkunde*—is essentially

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introspective; its end-product is more knowledge about incunabula. The literature of incunabula has grown so bulky that it is salutary to recall that it is concentrated on a period of about forty-five years; a period neither richer nor poorer in literary merit than any similar period in history. An unexpectedly high proportion—about thirty per cent—of the authors represented in fifteenth-century books were in fact contemporaries of the first printers. Thus on a literary plane, very many incunables stand condemned by their inevitable mediocrity; many more, such as the *editiones principes* of the classics, so important in their day, have been superseded by recourse to their manuscript sources. Yet one must insist upon the positive value of the intensive study of the book production of these forty-five years. The conspectus of fifteenth-century printing is the minute record of Europe at once medieval and renaissance, on the brink of reformation. At no other period is it known so exactly when a given idea appeared in a given place, and when this idea was voiced in the next town along the road or the river. On another view the study could be justified by the historian of typography, concerned only with the great aesthetic merits of fifteenth-century books. These are the ultimate aims although the manner of their achieving sometimes obscures them, and most research is on a more pedestrian level. With them, however, and with the supremely important historical fact of printing, the bibliographer justifies his research; no one does it better than Bühler did in his address to the Grolier Club in 1952.⁷

During this period and for some time into the following century, printed books are an extension of the manuscript tradition. Printing was regarded as a cheaper and quicker, but less elegant, method of doing what had formerly been done by hand. The use of liturgical, vernacular, and roman type faces is one of the more obvious extensions of manuscript use. It was not until the mid-sixteenth century that the full significance of the discovery of printing was generally understood and measures to harness the new power applied; yet men like Tyndale were well aware of the forces they were invoking.

English incunabula are of an interest considerably disproportionate to their actual numbers. Both ecclesiastical and humanist demands were satisfied by imports from the continent, a fact which has been underlined by the recent discovery of such a book printed for Caxton, Guillaume Maynyal,⁸ and the English press, itself the creation of a man of letters, was left free to concentrate on vernacular work in a way that only foreshadowed London's future eminence as a publishing

center.⁹ Few works of major literary importance were first given to the world as incunabula; an exception is Caxton's publication in 1485 of Malory's *Le Morte D'arthur*. Significantly the discovery of the Winchester manuscript in 1934 revealed that a manuscript tradition existed alongside the printed—as indeed it did for Caxton's text of the "Dictes or sayengis of the philosophres" (e.g. Lambeth Palace MS. 265).

Setting literary interest aside then, the study of incunabula is the detailed documentation by town, printer, book typeface, and date of the spread of printing during the fifteenth century. Steinberg's recent *Five Hundred Years of Printing* is a readable and easily accessible consideration of the historical context of the printing of this period.

The great *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* was designed to be the final compendium of knowledge about fifteenth-century printing. Its failure to progress beyond Bd.8 is usually seen as a result of the war and the ensuing partition of Germany. Yet other bibliographical schemes thrive, and the failure of the *Gesamtkatalog* may well be due in part to the fact that it lacks the demand from scholars outside its own highly specialized bibliographical field sufficient to maintain such a grandiose and expansive project.

The issuing of descriptive catalogs of incunabula devolves upon the holders of the greatest collections. The British Museum (whose collections may only be exceeded by those of the State Library in Munich) has so far issued eight volumes of its detailed *Catalogue of Books printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the British Museum*. Only one, *France, French-speaking Switzerland* has appeared since the war, in 1949, but that for Holland and Belgium is in proof, and most of the work for Spain and Portugal has been done.

Enough has now been said to indicate that the major task of the incunabulist lies in the identification, dating, and attribution to town and printer of fifteenth-century books. These are in fact trends which have persisted ever since Henry Bradshaw laid down the "natural history method" in the nineteenth century. All recent issues of bibliographical periodicals testify to the continuing patient work by which fifteenth-century books are described, dated, and assigned to their presses. The great unanswered questions of the bibliography of this period relate to its opening years, and to the fair-sized body of books and lesser prints which appeared in Mainz and perhaps Bamberg before 1460. New evidence is hardly won, and when it appears is put strenuously to work. The discovery of some early fragments at Cracow just before the war led to an important adjustment in the time-

schedule of early typography, by which the so-called "Astronomical Calendar of 1448" was removed to a date about ten years later, and new light was shed on the early history of the second printed Bible, that with thirty-six lines to the page. The Cracow fragments were considered in a monograph by Carl Wehmer, *Mainzer Probedrucke in der Type des sogenannten Astronomischen Kalenders, für 1448*, in 1948. On the same level of importance as Wehmer's work is Sir Irvine Masson's *The Mainz Psalters and Canon Missae, 1457-1459* published in 1954. An inquirer after bibliographical trends would note that this lucid and convincing study is in part a reconsideration of evidence which was in large part presented over fifty years ago. The chapter, "Digression on Pinholes and their Interpretation"—a novelty in relation to the 1457 Psalter—makes use of information collected about the 42-line Bible by Schwenke in 1900. It is interesting to note as part of this highly sophisticated method of investigation a spontaneous growth of compositor analysis in Masson's work.

Together with this increased information about the Psalters of 1457 and 1459 has come a revival of controversy about their "poor relation," the *Missale speciale Constantiense* which though printed in a type almost identical with the smaller of the two Psalter types, is yet by comparison a far less competently printed book; so much so that it has been claimed as one of Gutenberg's earliest attempts, preceding the 42-line Bible. The controversy has been greatly aggravated by the purchase of a Constance Missal by the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1952.

The controversy hinges on whether the acknowledged primitive quality of the Missal and the fact that it was printed in a type which in a slightly later state appears in the Psalter of 1457—admittedly printed by the Gutenberg-Fust-Schoeffer partnership—means that it was an early experiment by this establishment, or merely a badly instructed piece of work by someone who had acquired types or matrices from this source and used them at a later date. In the recent controversy, an early (i.e. before the 42-line Bible) date for the Missal was rejected by Victor Scholderer.¹⁰ The earlier printing was advocated by Bühler in his reply, "Who Printed the *Missale speciale Constantiense*," in the *Book Collector*.^{10a} Sir Irvine Masson's work on the Psalter of 1457 enabled him to link the type of the Missal closely with that of the earliest printed parts of the Psalter.¹¹ Bühler returned to the attack with "Another View of the Dating of the *Missale speciale Constantiense*."¹² It remains for the observer not to arbitrate between

the experts but to note the extreme sophistication of their method and to point out the object of the controversy—the documentation with the greatest possible accuracy of the very earliest printing with movable types. It is to be hoped that a monograph like Masson's will appear on the Missal, particularly as all the possible questions do not seem to have been asked about the Missal. Masson¹³ offers tentative evidence that it is possible to detect by spelling habits the presence of more than one compositor in the Psalter of 1457, and that similar differences seemed to appear in the 42-line Bible. If Bühler's hypothesis of an early Gutenbergian origin for the Constance Missal is correct, it might be possible to detect compositorial spellings linking the Missal with the 42-line Bible and the 1457 Psalter.

Generally speaking, the incunabulists do not, unlike the textual bibliographer see wide vistas of knowledge opening up before them. Their studies are "ordained in this setting part of time" and they will be content with more incunables to describe, the full description and location of known books—only a resumption of the *Gesamtkatalog* can give this—and perhaps some new evidence on some of the most controverted points.

There is no doubt that the field in which bibliographical method has become most elaborate, and its recent contributions to knowledge correspondingly great, is that of textual bibliography. The name of this species of research is self-explanatory; it is the examination of bibliographical data about the state of a printed text, rather than as a contribution to the science of documentation or to the history of civilization.

In the period under consideration the attention of bibliographers has been principally directed to dramatic literature, to Shakespeare in particular, and within his own corpus of work to the plays in preference to his not inconsiderable output in other literary genres. The reasons for this particularization are not far to seek; apart from the literary importance of the plays, they are as a class much worse printed than any other. This problem is absolutely fundamental to the textual bibliography of this period, and it is sufficient to refer at this point to one of R. B. McKerrow's most illuminating studies, "The Elizabethan Printer and Dramatic Manuscripts."¹⁴ It would be difficult to find any body of literature, at least since the beginning of printing, whose final published form bears such a complex relationship to the author's manuscript as does the English drama, in particular that of Shakespeare, of this period. It is with the nature of this relationship

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that textual bibliography is concerned. The problems of textual transmission are common to all Shakespeare's contemporaries, but the importance, and indeed the great bulk of his work, have insured that far less zeal has been expended on Marlowe, Peele, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Webster.

It may be argued, of course, that while so much remains to be said about Shakespeare, minute reconstruction of even the accidentals of his text is an exercise in pedantry. "Shakespeare's text," the indictment runs, "is perfectly adequate for most purposes. Why bring this enormous apparatus of learning to bear upon the text when it would be so much more profitable to read plays or to watch them in the theatre?" Yet reader and theatergoer alike depend upon a text which has passed through the hands of numerous editors from the eighteenth century onwards, who have all attempted to impose some sort of sense upon passages which were formerly almost unintelligible, or to decide between two readings which are at first sight equally plausible. It may be permissible to argue from an extreme example. Probably the most famous passage in English literature is Hamlet's soliloquy which begins:

To be, or not to be, that is the question,

This is the version published in 1604. There is however an earlier version of it dating from 1603 which runs:

To be, or not to be, I there's the point,
To Die, to sleepe, is that all? I all:
No, to sleepe, to dreame, I mary there it goes,

and so on. One may prefer one version or the other on literary grounds, and the doubt assails one that the earlier may be the poet's first thoughts, as indeed the bookseller thought who sold the text (now in the British Museum) to Halliwell-Phillips. The earliest text of *Henry V* lacks the king's exhortation to his troops before Harfleur, and no one who has read his Dover Wilson can doubt that the First Folio's improved text of this play materially helped us to win the war.

These are extreme examples, but they are repeated perhaps in a descending scale of significance, many thousands of times throughout the Shakespearean canon. It is true that editors have preferred the readings of the 1604/5 quarto in the case of *Hamlet*, but they have always until recently been guided in their choice by their own edu-

cated good taste. It remained for twentieth-century bibliographers to develop a logical and scientific method by which the relation of one substantive text to another can be exactly determined. Short of the discovery of a cache of Shakespeare's autographs, or of a letter from him denouncing the printers of stolen and surreptitious texts, the method can only be that of textual bibliography. It may be stated dogmatically that, given two printed texts of a play, it is possible to determine by bibliographical means, the relation of the one to the other. Bibliography cannot in every case decide which reading is to be preferred, but it can estimate which one is eligible for consideration. This is notable progress from the eclecticism based on good taste of eighteenth-century and later editors described by Fredson Bowers: "This taste was often excellent but it did not save them from blunders, as in the example . . . where up to half a dozen readings from the unauthoritative second quarto of *Othello* were commonly introduced as authentic recoveries of Shakespeare's own words, which they are not."¹⁵

Shakespeare has claimed by far the greater part of the work in this field, as his surpassing literary importance has naturally created a demand for texts which will present no difficulties either to school children or to actors. The works of Shakespeare's most important contemporary, Marlowe, exists in texts infinitely worse; but—apart from the non-authorial additions to *Dr. Faustus*—his plays exist only in one substantive version. A manuscript fragment of the *Massacre at Paris*, probably from the author's foul papers, and providing a much fuller text than that of the "bad octavo" of c. 1595,¹⁶ is the only instance of a problem—the multiplicity of substantive texts—which haunts Shakespearian scholarship. *Hamlet* has presented more difficulty than any other play, as it exists in three differing versions, those of the first and second quartos (1603 and 1604/5) and the folio (1623); and a vamped-up German version, the *Brudermord*, of almost contemporary date, has to be considered at least as evidence.

The editorial problem in Shakespeare then consists, at its simplest, where the play—e.g. *Macbeth*—has come down in a single text, in relating this one text to Shakespeare's original manuscript; at its most complex in establishing the relationship of several texts—e.g. those of *Hamlet*—to one another and thence to the poet's original manuscript. The problem was at once confused by the editors of the 1623 folio, who in stating that previous (i.e. quarto) editions were "diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and

stealthes of inurious impostors," needlessly disparaged the authority of quarto texts to the general detriment of subsequent editing. It remained for A. W. Pollard¹⁷ to clear the publishers of at least some of the quartos of the slur cast upon them in 1623. The eclecticism of nineteenth-century editors was based upon the inability to decide on the relative merits of two or more readings on any grounds other than those of fallible literary taste. The advent of bibliographical method enabled a mass of lumber—such as the "Pavier quartos" of 1619, to be cleared out of the editor's way. If a new eclecticism has taken the place of the old, it is based on a clearer knowledge of the issues. The new objective is "a critically edited and therefore eclectic text, which, making use of the most advanced bibliographical, critical, and linguistic techniques, will achieve the maximum recovery of what Shakespeare wrote in every possible detail, no matter how minute."¹⁸

The pioneers of bibliographical method were Pollard, McKerrow, and Sir Walter W. Greg, and present trends in textual bibliography largely derive from lines of research which they laid down. To them is due the introduction of the bibliographical principle, here defined by Greg as "that apart from ordinary typographical errors, the corruptions and abnormalities in the print should be traced to peculiarities in the copy rather than blamed on the assumed incompetence of the printer."¹⁹ The relative corruption of dramatic and other texts was discussed by McKerrow: "one of the reasons for the badness of dramatic texts is that they were often set up from the author's original manuscript and not from a fair-copy such as would be usual in the case of other books."²⁰ It was then to the manuscript and its transmission into print that they looked; this involved a two-fold investigation, firstly into the organization of the Elizabethan book trade, the records of the Stationers' Company, and the actual working of a printer's shop, and secondly into surviving dramatic documents in order to ascertain the type of manuscript—foul papers, fair copy, private transcript, memorial reconstruction, prompt-book, etc., that might be presumed to underly a printed text which Greg discussed and illustrated in *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses* in 1931. The section of the manuscript play, *Sir Thomas More*, usually thought to be in Shakespeare's autograph, was of particular importance.²¹ The characteristics of the various types of manuscript copy have been recently described with reference to Webster's plays by J. R. Brown.²² Examination of the printing process and the types of manuscript copy lead to what Alice Walker has called "the focal

point of twentieth century textual criticism—the problem of transmission.”²³

It is necessary here to differentiate between bibliographical and documentary evidence—to be called textual bibliography the method of investigation must be firmly rooted in “the printing process, but it may associate palaeographical evidence with this, as well as evidence of any sort that seems pertinent.”²⁴ Bibliographical evidence may even be expressed as a formula, but it is usually interpreted in the light of contemporary printing house practice which may be derived from historical sources.

The most important contribution to the study of the transmission of Shakespeare’s text has been the technique of compositor analysis. It has been known since 1920 that at least two compositors worked on the First Folio of 1623, and that these might be distinguished by characteristic spellings. The implications of the discovery are of course that the two or more men would not be equally careful, and would have different methods of treating the manuscript or printed copy before them. In the period up to 1640 compositors may be distinguished not only by their spelling, but by other characteristics such as differing treatment of act and scene headings, and of stage directions, different abbreviations for speech headings, and according to whether they split or turn over a line of verse too long for the column. The technique may be seen in action in two articles, *The Compositors of ‘Hamlet’ Q2 and ‘The Merchant of Venice’* by J. R. Brown,²⁵ and *The Printing of ‘Hamlet’ Q2* by Fredson Bowers.²⁶ The former article is of great interest as showing the technique at work; its purpose in this instance is to discover whether these two quartos, printed in the same workshop about four years apart, offer any evidence that the underlying copy was in similar handwriting. The method is not here at its safest perhaps, as compositorial spelling habits tend to change over a period of years. Compositor analysis can also be used to establish whether the copy for one play was heterogeneous with all its implications for authorship, or whether, as in the instance quoted above, the copy for two plays was similar enough to make possible a grouping of types of manuscript; and can, once the characteristics of all the compositors from such Elizabethan workshops as printed dramatic texts are analyzed, help to identify printers and to date undated books or even cancels.

The evidence on authorship provided by compositor analysis has so far proved suggestive rather than decisive. It may be assumed that

two authors providing manuscript copy in a single play for a printer would have characteristic spellings of their own; but a similar effect could be produced by a change of compositor. Spelling variations in the Folio *Henry VIII* are compositorial and according to Philip Williams, apparently will not serve to distinguish the work of Shakespeare from his supposed collaborator, Fletcher.²⁷ The same writer was however able to detect heterogeneous copy in the Folio texts of *1 Henry VI* and *Titus Andronicus*. Williams's former conclusion was accepted by R. A. Foakes, whose more detailed investigations of the stints of the two compositors A and B point to copy in a single hand.²⁸ *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, published as by Shakespeare and Fletcher in 1634, poses another kind of problem. Here the foul papers can be assumed to have been in two hands. As its title suggests, the most recent work on the play, "Printer's Copy for *The Two Noble Kinsmen*," by F. O. Waller²⁹, is more concerned with the copy for the quarto, and only uses compositor analysis as a negative check against speculation on the language forms used by the two authors.

The second quarto of *Hamlet* has been widely discussed since Dover Wilson's monograph of 1934, *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's 'Hamlet' and the Problems of its Transmission*. The problems it presents range from its relation to the "bad" quarto of 1603—part of the text was demonstrably set up from the earlier print and may have been contaminated by it; whether the nature of the copy or the carelessness or haste of compositors resulted in the high proportion of errors in the text; and whether the folio of 1623 preserves an independent text or was set up from a corrected quarto.

Compositor analysis for the textual bibliographer is a means of classifying the indubitable errors to which a given workman was liable, in such a way that a control is established by which the plausibility of an emendation can be judged. Thus if a compositor in setting up text X from known copy shows himself to be liable to errors, for example of anticipation, it is likely that similar errors will appear in his setting up of text Y, for which no copy has survived. Evidence of this nature must be qualified by the knowledge that compositors generally followed printed copy with greater respect than manuscript copy. A departure from printed copy should always be examined in the light of a compositor's liability elsewhere to error before it is accepted as an editorial correction deriving from a prompt-book.

It cannot be stressed too much that compositor analysis only produces a system of probabilities by which an emendation can be

judged, "and although more knowledge about compositors should make it clearer what kind of errors (and how many) they may have made, it will never locate the errors or emend them."³⁰

To the two compositors, A and B, whose work has long been evident in the Shakespeare First Folio, Hinman has recently added a third, compositor E.³¹ The evidence for his presence forms part of that used by Hinman to establish the order in which the forms of the Folio were printed. It is inferred from this evidence that E's lack of skill or training was such that with one exception he was not permitted to set up from manuscript or even from heavily annotated printed copy, and that his presence *may* be regarded as evidence for printed copy. Hinman is very cautious of using the work of E on Folio *Hamlet* as evidence for the use of the quarto as copy.

It need not be assumed that copies of all dramatic quartos have survived. The first quarto of *Love's Labours Lost* is generally supposed to have had a "bad" predecessor and the earliest quarto of *1 Henry IV* only survives as a fragment. Some very respectable evidence has now been produced that a printed text of a play called *Love's Labours Won* existed about 1603, and that it may have been Shakespeare's.³² If this play is now represented by any of those in the Folio, one might expect that a quarto, if available, would have been used as copy.

It had until recently been widely assumed that it was customary in Elizabethan printing houses to correct the proof from the copy. Recent work by Hinman, facilitated by his collating machine, has disposed of this assumption, at least with regard to the Shakespeare First Folio. Research on the Folger Library's collection of First Folios—and it is pleasant to learn that some justification for this squirrels' hoard has now been provided—has revealed that extensive correction was made during the course of printing, not necessarily from copy, and that most copies occur with both corrected and uncorrected sheets. In a very few instances the actual sheets marked for correction have been found. In short, no two copies are likely to be exactly the same, and only exhaustive collation made possible by what Greg called the "ingenious optical contrivance," the collating machine, of extant copies can reveal the full extent of variation. Hinman is now engaged upon collation of this kind, and such textual conclusions as he has so far published appear in "Mark III: New Light on the Proof-reading for the First Folio of Shakespeare," and "Variant Readings in the First Folio of Shakespeare." In the latter article he notes that the care bestowed on proof correction tended to vary with the copy; four years

later he points out that large concentrations of press-variants occur in the work of the "prentice compositor he identifies as 'E,'" who did not normally set from manuscript copy.³³

Apart from the added knowledge we have about the printing history of the Folio from this work, there are two significant implications. If individual copies of the Folio contain both corrected and uncorrected sheets, there is technically no standard "Folio text," and it follows that editions cannot now be prepared from facsimiles which represent single copies, unless press-variants from other copies (which should be available from Hinman's collation) are taken into consideration. The second implication is, if anything, more alarming. Since press correction might take place during the printing, with both corrected and uncorrected sheets, containing either authoritative or unauthoritative variants being published, it is possible that where only a very few copies have survived, no copy with the correct reading may have been preserved. It may happen, however, that a later edition, otherwise a derivative print, may have been set up from a copy with an authoritative reading that has not otherwise survived. In view of the high survival rate of First Folios it is unlikely that the Second preserves readings of this sort; but Miss Walker believes that it may have happened with the second quarto of *Lear*, 1619. "Q2's reading may, I think, be a Q1 proof-reader's recovery from the manuscript not found in the Folio collator's copy of the quarto, and overlooked . . . in the course of collation or printing."³⁴

Hinman's intensive study of the printing of the First Folio has borne further fruit in his recognition that type for it was set up, not as had been assumed by pages, but by forms, normally beginning with the inner sheet of a three sheet gathering.³⁵ The evidence for this lies in the recurrence of certain easily recognizable damaged types in positions where they could not occur if the normal method of composition by pages had been followed. Hinman has cataloged a large number of individual defective types to this end. Composition by forms implies fairly accurate casting-off of copy, as if the text is not going to be set up in type in its own logical order it must be marked in such a way that the compositor knows where to begin. If the copy is not cast off with considerable accuracy, as it might be if already printed, but not if the copy was manuscript or contained extensive manuscript additions or corrections, the compositor might easily find it necessary to squeeze the text or fill it out in some way as he came to the end of his page. This might result, if not in more serious addi-

tions or omissions, in the printing of verse as prose, or the splitting of lines of verse. Practices of this kind are useful indications of the kind of copy before the compositor. On a broader view, the order in which the plays were printed, a matter on which Hinman's researches should shed more light, has an important bearing not only on the nature of the copy, but on the availability of texts. It has been recognized for some time that the printing of the Folio *Troilus and Cressida* was abandoned and resumed some time later. It was suggested by Greg that Jaggard was forced to stop printing this play,³⁶ of which the copyright was held by the surviving publisher of the 1609 quarto, Henry Walley, and only resumed when he was in possession of another manuscript. The implications of this for the text are discussed by Miss Walker in *Textual Problems of the First Folio*.³⁷

It will not have escaped notice that the trends in the bibliography of the period in consideration have been progressively parting company from the normal and everyday concerns of the average librarian. It is, however, essential that all librarians should be aware of what work is going on in these important fields and should be sympathetic to it. Librarians are, by the nature of their care, bibliographers, and nothing bibliographical will ever be entirely alien to them.

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Printed Books, 1640-1800

D. G. NEILL

IT IS HEARTENING to reflect that some, at least, of those who work in libraries and are principally concerned with printed books regard themselves as something more than custodians. As wise parents bring love and an effort to understand its individuality to their duty of training a child, so some librarians seek to establish a like relationship with their charges, based on knowledge and affection. What Wordsworth wrote of the poet may be adapted to books, for

. . . you must love [them], ere to you
[They] will seem worthy of your love.¹

Nowhere is it more possible for the librarian to be both custodian and pioneer, to combine a double duty of preservation and exploration, than in the period 1640-1800, and if the individual accepts his responsibility he will see the necessity for possessing himself of the techniques of bibliography, and having once accomplished that considerable task, for trying to follow the current bibliographical articles and books which are concerned with his particular interest. It is the aim of this article to describe some of the work done and being done, and to indicate some of the important bibliographical desiderata for this period.

The student of bibliography, whatever period he may wish, or happen later, to study, will almost certainly begin his course with R. B. McKerrow's *Introduction to Bibliography*, a rewriting and considerable enlargement of some "Notes on Bibliographical Evidence. . ." which were first published in the twelfth volume of the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*. This was pioneering work, and the *Introduction* has justly been described as a classic. In November 1933, Sir W. W. Greg delivered his profoundly important paper on "A Formulary of Collation."² Greg had thought more deeply and to

Mr. Neill is at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, England.

better effect about what a formula could and should achieve than anyone else, and his paper was not only important in itself but immensely fruitful in its consequences. Fredson Bowers's *Principles of Bibliographical Description*,³ is dedicated to Greg, and in his Foreword he writes: "I have been the more emboldened to pursue, with certain modifications and extensions, the formulary of collation advocated by Dr. W. W. Greg, not only because I have been convinced of its logic but also because my experience has shown that it works more efficiently than any other." *Principles* is not an easy book, but it is of the first importance to anyone who wishes to understand the aims of, and perhaps later to attempt, bibliographical description. What Bowers's principles mean in practice can be seen in *George Sandys: A Bibliographical Catalogue of Printed Editions in England to 1700*,⁴ in which he collaborated with R. B. Davis. This *Catalogue* sets such a high standard of description and so well shows how necessary it is to examine as many copies as possible of each work described, that the dangers inherent in lesser standards is immediately apparent. In his article in the present number of *Library Trends*, Bowers lays stress on the fact that identification is not the sole end of descriptive bibliography, but it is nevertheless certain that an author bibliography which, by its paucity of detail, makes it impossible to distinguish between editions, or to identify an imperfect copy, fails at the lowest level.⁵ A bad bibliography, like a bad biography, is worse than no book at all; a good subject has been ruined to very little effect, and a publisher will naturally be reluctant to undertake the great expense of a properly organized bibliography within a short period of time.

This point will bear some laboring, for the users of bibliographies can and must make it clear that only the best is good enough for their purposes, and librarians have a special responsibility and opportunity in this matter both as users and producers. The claim that bibliography should be reserved for the dilettanti, for the amateurs, that the professionals are somehow spoiling an agreeable pastime is understandable, but it is a plea offered to the heart and not to the head, a plea that the bad coin should drive out the good, and it cannot be accepted.

A desire for high standards in descriptive bibliographies need not prevent one from justly estimating the value of enumerative bibliographies to which equally high, though different, standards are to be applied. The British Museum's special catalog of Early English books, published in 1884 in three volumes, ended at 1640 in order to avoid the mass of Civil War material, and was followed in this by the

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Bibliographical Society's *Short Title Catalogue* in 1926 and one must therefore recognize the extraordinary fortitude and determination shown by D. G. Wing of Yale University Library in undertaking the enormous task of compiling a *Short Title Catalogue* of books printed in the British Isles, and printed in English abroad, for the period 1641-1700 which was published in three volumes at New York between 1945 and 1951. The production and some of the final checking was affected by the war, and it is remarkable that the task was ever finished. It would be unwise, however, to underestimate its defects, as Wing was inclined to do in his article "Interim Report on the Second 'S.T.C.'" in *The Times Literary Supplement*.⁶ Anyone who uses Wing constantly, and regularly benefits from its merits, soon becomes aware of the large number of titles missing, which is greater than Wing allows. A friend of this writer, for instance, has already found a sufficient number of Catholic books to encourage him in his hope of eventually publishing a list of one hundred of them not listed in Wing.

Again, the constant user realizes how very poor the editing is in places; analytical entries relating to parts of books have been taken from old-fashioned catalogs and treated without due editorial suspicion or examination, as though they were complete units in themselves. The entries under Xenophon, for example, need to be considerably reduced in number for this reason. A difficulty in using Wing, though far from always being a defect in the arrangement, is that many of the principal libraries do not catalog anonymous books under the first word of the title (disregarding "A" and "The"), as Wing does, and this means that books appear to be rarer than they are.⁷ This by itself may cause no great inconvenience, but the price asked by a bookseller when he has one of these books often brings sharply home to the would-be buyer how seriously the number of copies recorded is taken by the trade, despite Wing's warning in the preface that "This is not a census of copies."⁸ The difference in the headings used for anonymous pieces by Wing and by the Bodleian Library, for example, means, to take only those for which less than five copies are recorded in England, that the latter often has, and has had since the date of their publication (sometimes an important point), a considerable number of books, pamphlets, and broadsides with which it is not credited.

Supplements to Wing have been compiled by J. E. Tucker (translations from the French);⁹ John Alden (Irish books);¹⁰ and by Mary I. Fry and Godfrey Davies;¹¹ and W. G. Hiscock's two lists record the presence in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, of works (a) of

which fewer than five copies are recorded by Wing in Great Britain,¹² and (b) of press variant imprints, issues, editions, and works which are not in Wing.¹³

A check list of Scottish printing up to 1700 had already been compiled by H. G. Aldis in 1904, and one of Irish printing 1641-1700, by E. R. M. Dix in 1898.

Oxford books have been treated in greater detail by that indefatigable scholar the late Falconer Madan, in his three volumes of *Oxford Books* "1468" to 1680, and then in 1954 *A Chronological List of Oxford Books 1681-1713*, a "transcript from his notebooks," was published in a duplicated edition of twelve copies, four of which were sent to the Bodleian. Though printed in too small an edition for libraries to hope to possess it, this list is invaluable for those who can consult it in person or by letter. Anyone who has read the story of the inception of Wing's *Short Title Catalogue* will recall Madan's close connection with it.

For Cambridge books there is Robert Bowes's *Catalogue of Cambridge Books*, and *A List of Books Printed at the University Press, 1521-1800*,¹⁴ though it is no very difficult matter to find books not recorded in these two lists.

The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature, together with its *Supplement*,¹⁵ is constantly of service, though it inevitably falls short of the claim in the blurb that "The four volumes of this Bibliography contain particulars of every writer and every book worthy of inclusion in a record of English Literature . . . to the beginning of this century." A great quantity of bibliographical information is to be found in the early sections of Volume 2, though these tend to be neglected while the entires under individual authors are more fully used and appreciated.

It would be possible at this point to fill several pages with lists—and useful lists—of subject and author bibliographies, but these can be found by an intelligent use of reference books and of the catalog of one's library. Here only one work will be singled out, the late Sir W. W. Greg's monumental *Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration, 1939-1957*, of which three volumes were published before the author's death in March, the last volume being expected later this year.

It is more important to direct attention to some of the newly developed techniques, and to some of the ancillary lines of bibliographical investigation, which have come into being or into effective use since

the war. The most important postwar investigation so far as the period 1640-1800 is concerned is W. B. Todd's work on press-figures. These are the symbols which are found at the foot of some of the pages in certain books and pamphlets published between the late seventeenth century¹⁶ and the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ In the beginning obelisks and daggers were used but gradually arabic numerals took their place. Press-figures generally occur on pages which are unsigned and, at the most, one expects to find only two figures to a sheet, one to each form, though very occasionally there are three. This is an absurdity and it is quite likely that not all copies would have the redundant third figure. There has been much discussion as to whether the figure relates to the press or to the press-men; since in some books the figure is as high as twenty-six and no printer in the eighteenth century, however successful, could have had as many presses as that, opinion tends towards the second explanation. But their significance is not easily grasped in books where there are not regularly two figures to a sheet, nor, indeed, even one to a sheet. Sometimes one finds figures right at the beginning and then not again until the end of the book. The problems of interpretation are not fully solved. Press-figures, however, provide one with a further aid to deciding whether two books are copies or not, though unless one has them both in front of one it will not always be possible to say with certainty whether they are different impressions or different editions. A further complication arises from the fact that it is not unknown for a (piratical) reprint, making fidelity its aim, to reproduce even the press-figures.¹⁸ Problems such as these require for their solution the use of the Hinman collating machine, which D. F. Foxon describes and discusses in his article in this issue.

Before the war, R. B. McKerrow, R. W. Chapman, and others had commented on these press-figures, and important conclusions were drawn from them in F. B. Kaye's 1924 edition of *The Fable of the Bees*, and in W. E. Knott's study of John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*.¹⁹ Todd's thesis, *The Identity and Order of Certain XVIII Century Editions*, made widely available in 1949 as no. 433 in the University of Chicago Microfilm Editions, was based on a close study of a large number of works containing press-figures. He has published extracts from it in a number of different journals, generally taking one or more works and revealing the presence of unsuspected editions or impressions, and sometimes showing that so-called editions are really nothing more than impressions. Todd has considered their general significance

in "Observations on the Incidence and Interpretation of Press Figures."²⁰ He has directed attention to, and suggested how to use, largely neglected evidence, and it is to be hoped that before long the printing of the press-figure pattern, and, if possible, an explanation of its significance, will become a standard part of the bibliographical description of a press-figured book. His article on "Recurrent Printing" shows that the very success of this technique in exposing not strictly accurate claims of new "editions" made by the publisher, leads to problems of terminology, and Todd there suggests some new terms to fit the awkward facts.

Press-figures occur so little outside this period that a knowledge of how to interpret them, though useful for the early nineteenth-century bibliographer, is irrelevant to the specialist in the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and early Caroline periods, which hitherto have, by and large, provided the problems which led to the introduction of new bibliographical techniques.

The concentrated work on the *S.T.C.* period has encouraged such developments as the using of the evidence afforded by the patterns in running titles, and the measuring horizontally of the lines of type on different pages in a book to see if the same measure was used throughout. By means of the first, one can with luck,—that is, with enough patience and a fair supply of distinctive (sometimes bent or broken) letters or round brackets—determine how many skeletons were used, and discover whether the running titles were moved regularly from one position in one form to the same position in the next but one form, or not. This will show whether the printer was keeping pace with the compositors or not, and should in addition reveal the presence of cancel sheets and leaves, or of sheets inserted from another edition. The running-titles confirm, for example, the existence of two 1693 editions of John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, and an examination of the pattern of their movements has revealed that in Locke's own copy of the first edition, now at the Bodleian Library, sheet K is from the later setting.²¹ A consideration of the evidence to be deduced from the second technique is included in Bowers's "Bibliographical Evidence from the Printer's Measure."²²

All these techniques depend upon a careful examination and measurement of the type. Commonplaceness and poverty of design is noticeable in many fonts of the period, and this makes it difficult, without very intensive study, to identify the printer from the type used. It is only later on in the eighteenth century that English typog-

raphy changes from being a disgrace to the country to being a credit and an influence abroad. Caslon and Baskerville, who "reformed the English printing of their day," Bulmer and Bensley, and, in Scotland, the Wilson Foundry have had and are having a due measure of scholarly attention paid to them; their books are being listed, sometimes with bibliographical details, as for example in Philip Gaskell's *Baskerville* and his articles on the Foulis Press and the Wilson Foundry,²³ and their types described.²⁴ But the most hopeful means of identifying the printer of a book when the type is not particularly distinguished, is by the ornaments, initials, and factota.²⁵ This form of scrutiny is well-established for the S.T.C. period, but is in its infancy so far as the eighteenth-century period is concerned. In 1952, K. I. D. Maslen, a New Zealander, submitted a B. Litt. thesis at Oxford University on *Works from the Bowyer Press (1713-65): a Supplement to John Nichols* which included a small album of contact prints of ornaments etc., each of which was numbered, and reference was made, in the chronological list, to those used in the books, or part of books,²⁶ produced. With a similar aim Foxon, who is engaged in compiling a check list of English poetical pieces 1701-1750, is amassing a collection of prints of ornaments which will in all probability enable him to identify, for the first time, the printers of some of the important poems in this period.

A knowledge of the practices of the printer is sometime essential for the solution of a bibliographical problem. Since printing has always been a conservative trade, and the practices remained essentially the same for three hundred years or more, the more important English manuals for printers draw considerably on their predecessors. The first, and, in some ways, the most important, of them was Joseph Moxon's *Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing*, 1683-84,²⁷ which was republished in 1958, edited by Harry Carter and Herbert Davis, at the very heavy price of £5.5.0.

Maslen's thesis was made possible by the presence in the Bodleian Library of William Bowyer's Paper Ledger which gives the debit and credit account of books in which he was concerned in terms of paper received from and copies delivered to the Stationer.²⁸ A still more important and far larger collection is William Strahan's ledgers most of which are now in the British Museum. Four were sold at auction recently and went to America, though microfilms are available at the British Museum.²⁹ These ledgers had previously been quoted from by R. A. Austen-Leigh in the second edition of *The Story of a*

*Printing House Being a Short Account of the Strahans and Spottiswoodes.*³⁰

The postwar technical advances in bibliography have been informed by a readiness to exploit the evidence of material used in the manufacture of a book. Overlooked or misinterpreted evidence has been re-examined, and discoveries, which were published some time since but were never appreciated and used as they deserved, have had to be made again.

Paper in certain circumstances has most important evidence to give, and A. H. Stevenson's articles, "New Uses of Watermarks as Bibliographical Evidence" and "Watermarks are Twins"³¹ have given instances of their value. In "Watermarks are Twins," Stevenson shows that the differences in the watermarks in a book are quite often to be explained as the result of the papers having come partly from one and partly from the other of the pair of molds with which the vatman and his coucher worked: one dipping, while the other released and stacked the newly-made sheets. He shows, too, that "The basic equation is: two watermarks similar but not identical equal one paper," and goes on to this conclusion: "Forty years ago Falconer Madan uttered his belief and warning: 'There is no such thing as as duplicate'." (Librarians have scarcely heeded him.) There is new truth in his words. In terms of mixed watermarks, twin watermarks, press variants, cancels, and the gathering of sheets, every copy of every book (above the rank of mere pamphlet) may be expected to differ from all others. Even a thin play-quarto "with one watermark throughout" yields startling arithmetical combinations: The bibliographer does well to remember that an irregularity in the occurrence or position of the watermark may reveal or confirm the presence of a cancel, or of leaves inserted from another copy.³²

The chances of finding the particular watermark in the book one is examining in any of the albums of examples are not very high but C. M. Briquet, W. A. Churchill, Edward Heawood and the others often provide something to which reference by comparison can be made. Interest in the history of paper and paper-making has grown greatly and all the publications of The Paper Publications Society merit attention, though even with the subscription method their prices are far above the means of most individuals. It is a tremendous advance that, with the publication of A. H. Shorter's *Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England*, a dictionary of mills, makers, and their marks is now available. One hopes that eventually from it will follow more

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histories of the individual firms and of the families which ran and run them, on the lines of Thomas Balston's two excellent volumes, *William Balston, Paper Maker, 1758-1849*, (1955) and *James Whatman, Father and Son*, (1957).

Harry Carter's *Wolvercote Mill: A Study in Paper-Making at Oxford*, (1957), tells the story of an individual mill which has had a very strong connection with, and is now owned by, the University Press at Oxford.

By the terms of 34 George III (1794)c.20 "An Act for repealing the duties on paper . . .," a drawback (a refund of part of the duty paid) was allowed on those quantities which were exported unused or in books, provided that the paper bore the date of manufacture. The Act remained in force until 1811, but watermarked dates continued until well on into the nineteenth century, and, since paper was generally used within a year or two, frequently are helpful in dating undated books.³³

A considerable number of books, pamphlets, and in particular, single sheets were published without a date, and the practice of the older library catalogs was to abandon the problem of dating them without the pretense of a struggle and to print the accurate but unhelpful initials "n.d." (no date), and often, when there was no place of publication, though quite frequently the names of one or more stationers was given, to add to this the equally dispiriting "n.p." (no place). It is as much the duty of the cataloger to deal with this sort of problem as to try to discover the name of the author of an anonymous work, and the Christian or other names represented by his initials. Help in dating can naturally be got from any relevant date within the book, from advertisements of other books at the end, and from the stationer's name and place of business, if it is given. P. G. Morrison has continued the essential work he did for S.T.C. by producing an *Index of Printers, Publishers and Booksellers in Donald Wing's Short-title Catalogue . . . 1641-1700* in 1955. This period is also covered by the three volumes of *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers . . . 1641-1775*, compiled by H. R. Plomer and others and published in 1907, 1922, and 1932 respectively. These *Dictionaries* are very far from perfect and they leave a large gap at the end of the century. This is only partly filled by John Pendred's *The London and Country Printers, Booksellers and Stationers Vade Mecum*, 1785, edited in 1955 as *The Earliest Directory of the Book Trade* by H. G. Pollard who added an introduction and a number of valuable ap-

pendixes on, among other things, printers, booksellers, paper-mills, and directories.

Not many publishing firms have a history going back into the eighteenth century and such works as C. J. Longman's *The House of Longmans 1724-1800: A Bibliographical History*,³⁴ and Austen-Leigh's *Story of a Printing House*, which has been mentioned earlier, are particularly welcome. The results of more restricted inquiries have been made available by I. G. Philip in his essay, *William Blackstone and the Reform of the Oxford University Press in the Eighteenth Century*³⁵ and by Cyprian Blagden and Norma Hodgson's edition of *The Notebook of Thomas Bennet and Henry Clements*,³⁶ which has important information on congers and their place in the London book trade. Blagden is at present engaged in writing the history of the Stationers' Company and has published a number of articles on subjects arising from, and connected with, that work.

Books both newly published and reprinted were advertised in *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1708* which Edward Arber reprinted together with a *Number for Easter Term, 1711*, in three volumes, 1903-1906. Wing gives the *Term Catalogue* reference where relevant, and it is clear that, if a large number of books were not advertised there, there are on the other hand quite a number advertised of which copies have not yet been located. These catalogs can be to some extent supplemented, and additional information found, by searching the advertisement columns of newspapers. Unless one has access to a longish and complete run of any newspaper it is unwise to rely on an isolated advertisement announcing that "This Day is Published" such and such a book, for the advertisements were sometimes kept in for a matter of weeks and standing type was used in one issue after another.³⁷

Blagden has traced "The Genesis of the Term Catalogues" and has compiled a suggested list of the contents of "The Missing Term Catalogue" for Michaelmas Term, 1695. He has also published a valuable set of "Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," with a table by which one can date "rather more closely the (almost always) undated ballads printed for the members" of a group of booksellers operating between 1655-1692.³⁸

G. E. Briscoe Eyre edited *A Transcript of the Register of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640-1708*,³⁹ and a privately printed index for the period, 1710-1773 was published in 1910,⁴⁰ though the latter is not a well-arranged book. The Stationers' Registers have now all been filmed by University Microfilms and can therefore

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be much more widely consulted than before. The names of the booksellers concerned in entering a book sometimes differ from those in the imprint, and the Registers should therefore never be forgotten, though one must expect to find that many a book was not entered at Stationers' Hall "as the Act directs."

In a full-scale descriptive author-bibliography the list of copies seen of each book should pay attention to their binding and to their provenance, subjects which are sometimes closely linked. It is always interesting, and is sometimes vitally important, to know who were the former owners of books; if, for example, the sale catalog shows that Richard Heber had a copy of a certain book and none of those so far seen is his, then the probability is that at least one copy—and in all likelihood a good, if not fine, copy—remains to be found. The provenance of books is being more and more studied and this interest in part stems from Seymour de Ricci's Sandars lectures of 1929-30.⁴¹ De Ricci had an enormous collection of sale catalogs which helped him to trace the history of a book or manuscript from one collection to another. He appreciated to the full the value of these catalogs, and it would be better were his enthusiasm shared by more librarians.

The binding is one of the unique facts about a book; if it is in a dated binding by a well-known binder, perhaps with a famous owner's instructions tipped-in, the evidence is full and clear. The binding, however, may be the work of an obscure London or provincial binder who has escaped the searches of Ellic Howe⁴² and the late C. F. I. Ramsden,⁴³ and its first interest is as evidence of the unknown workman's existence. In an undated binding the endpapers may bear a watermark date or have an inscription of ownership which will suggest a date.⁴⁴

The identification of binders by their tools requires a keen memory for detail, a wide acquaintance with examples of their work and a plentiful file of rubbings to supplement the illustrations available in catalogs. H. M. Nixon regularly contributes an article on "English Bookbinding" with a plate to *The Book Collector*, and is the author, for example, of the superbly produced *Styles and Designs of Bookbindings from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Century*,⁴⁵ based on A. Ehrman's rich collection known as the Broxbourne Library.

The numerous techniques being devised by bibliographers, principally to subject the quarto and the folio texts of Shakespeare's plays to the closest possible scrutiny, all have as their purpose and discovery of the nature, and then the recovery of the readings, of the copy

text behind the printed words, and in some cases this text was a manuscript. Only a handful of manuscripts has survived from the early period which were certainly used as printer's copy, and there are not many for the later period. The manuscript of Pope's "Essay on Criticism" (1721), for instance is on display in the New Bodleian Library, showing the marks of casting-off, and his "Windsor Forest" (1712), now at Washington University, has been reprinted in a facsimile edited by R. M. Schmitz in St. Louis (1952). The survivors, particularly valuable if the printer can be identified, enable the bibliographer to follow the history of the book from manuscript to print, to estimate the degree of compositorial interference, and perhaps to identify the further thoughts of the author when he saw his work in proof.

The lines of investigation, and the list of books and articles relating to them, are obviously and necessarily incomplete, since it is here intended only to draw attention to some of the most prominent and valuable, while recognizing that others exist which in particular cases may prove to be more valuable.⁴⁶ Much that has not been referred to is to be found by using G. W. Cole's *Index to Bibliographical Papers Published by the Bibliographical Society and the Library Association, London, 1877-1932*.⁴⁷ The publications, be they proceedings, transactions, or monographs of the bibliographical societies of such universities and cities as Cambridge, Edinburgh, Glasgow (newly revived), London, Oxford, Virginia, and the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* are rich in easily-overlooked works, articles, and notes of importance. The "Selective Check List of Bibliographical Scholarship" published annually in *Studies in Bibliography* began in Volume 3 with the year 1949, and is a god-send. The Check List for 1955, omitted from Volume 9, was printed first in Volume 10, which principally consisted of a reprint of the indexes for the years 1949-1954, with a cumulative index for the seven years. This volume is the nearest thing in print to the urgently needed successor to Cole.

So much for the past and the present, but what of the future? The postwar revolution in bibliographical methods has confirmed the view, if one may adapt Chesterton's words, that "Bibliography has not been tried and found wanting; it has been tried and found difficult." Much of the dissatisfaction, even disgust, which some librarians and literary critics feel for bibliography arises from this fact; they are not prepared to undertake the hard work necessary to master the theories and techniques. Extravagant claims for bibliography have further

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excited feelings of hostility in those already little disposed to favor it. With the final words of his last Sanders' lecture Bowers summarized the limits of the part it can play when he said that "Bibliography is a good servant but a bad master."⁴⁸ What can the "good servant" do for the eighteenth century? It has already made most prewar bibliographical analyses obsolete and dangerous, and it must now set about constructive work. Earlier it was implied that there are scarcely any reliable author bibliographers for this period, and Todd's bibliography of Burke, to be published in the Soho Series, is therefore awaited with great interest. Important in its own right, it will, one feels sure, set standards for the future. Then, in the field of subject bibliographies, there is Bowers's own bibliography of the Restoration drama, to which he has referred in his article in this issue; the publication of this great work will, among other things, demonstrate that the detailed examination of many copies of a work against a control copy is the only rational way of getting books to reveal the secrets of their printing and publication. Such an examination will reveal facts which collateral evidence may confirm, but cannot establish.

Detailed studies of printers, their type and their ornaments are wanted; much more work should be done on booksellers—the revision of H. R. Plomer and his collaborators' heroic work is recognized as essential, but it has not yet been begun. Dare one hope that the Bibliographical Society will commission an editor or editors to gather material for new editions? The technique of compositor determination clearly has something to offer bibliographers working on the eighteenth century and Arthur Friedman has apparently done some work on Goldsmith along those lines. Instead of using spelling tests it will be necessary for the bibliographer to examine the capitalization, italicization, and punctuation—on which Swift and Pope, for example, seem to have held decided views. The almost total lack of variant spellings is counter-balanced by the greater quantity of surviving manuscript material which can be used as a control in any investigation of compositorial tendencies.

All these will help the bibliographer in his essential, if inevitably unsuccessful, struggle for completeness and accuracy. Now that printing costs, especially for bibliographies, have become so great, economy must insure, as good sense has always indicated, that preliminary check lists, perhaps only photocopied from typewriting, should be circulated to important libraries and to well-known collectors before any full author bibliography begins to reach the stage of printing. The greater

circulation of more material in a tentative form cheaply reproduced, cannot but benefit the author and the users of works of bibliographical scholarship. Librarians must play their part in this, both by being able to understand, use, and appreciate—if necessary, to criticize—the new techniques, and by doing all they can to answer bibliographical inquiries and to institute them where necessary, and, if possible, to dovetail into this the work which they have on hand in their private capacities. If the librarian rejects bibliography his professional ability can only suffer; he will buy the important editions only by accident, he will quote from the best text only by accident. He will indeed be a blind guide, at one with the literary critic who “has investigated the past ownership and mechanical condition of his second-hand automobile, or the pedigree and training of his dog, more thoroughly than he has looked into the qualifications of text on which his critical theories rest.”⁴⁹

Bibliographical Notes

1. Wordsworth, W.: A Poet's Epitaph. In: *Poetical Works*. Edited by Ernest de Selincourt and Helen Darbishire. vol. 4. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1947, p. 67.

2. Greg, W. W.: A Formulary of Collation. *The Library*, 4th series, 14:365-382, Mar. 1934.

3. Bowers, F. T.: *Principles of Bibliographical Description*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1949.

4. Bowers, F. T., and Davis, R. B.: George Sandys: A Bibliographical Catalogue of Printed Editions in England to 1700. *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 54:159-181, April 1950; 54:223-244, May 1950; 54:280-286, June 1950. (Also separately printed.)

5. It is imperative that, even if much the same wording is used on the title page of successive editions, these constant words should be printed each time, and, as this writer sees it, there are two reasons for this: (a) It is hard enough for the bibliographer to insure accuracy in his description when faithfully reproducing every word of the original, without giving himself the additional burden of insuring that the line-endings and omitted words are the same, say, in the tenth as in the sixth edition. If he makes a mistake the normal becomes a variant and his work has been in vain.

(b) The second reason is practical. If one is comparing a book with the pseudo-facsimile transcription in a bibliography it is often difficult to keep both books open and in use, and to have, in addition, to refer several pages back in the bibliography to the full transcription adds a complication which leads at best to annoyance, and at worst to inaccuracy.

6. Wing, D. G.: Interim Report on the Second “S.T.C.” *The Times Literary Supplement*, 57:648, Nov. 7, 1958.

7. Some booksellers feel that a book not in Wing should never be listed at less than £5 however obscure the author or unreadable the book.

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8. Though a book is recorded only at two or three libraries, there may be at one or more of them two, three, four, five or more copies. Few libraries will be able to exceed W. G. Hiscock's discovery that the library of Christ Church, Oxford, has eighteen copies of Wing S4592 (British Museum copy only in Wing), and thirty-three copies of H3698 (two in the United Kingdom, four in America). *The Times Literary Supplement*, 55:544, Sept. 14, 1956. Both of these are as nothing in comparison with S.T.C. 8953: one copy is recorded at the Record Office in London, but there are 163 unrecorded copies at Cambridge (teste J. C. T. Oates).

9. Tucker, J. E.: Wing's Short-Title Catalogue and Translations from the French, 1641-1700. *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 49:37-67, First Quarter, 1955.

10. Alden, John: *Bibliographica Hibernica: Additions and Corrections to Wing*. Charlottesville, Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1955.

11. Fry, Mary I., and Davies, Godfrey: Supplements to the Short-Title Catalogue, 1641-1700. *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 16:393-436, Aug. 1953.

12. Hiscock, W. G.: *The Christ Church Holdings in Wing's Short-Title Catalogue 1641-1700 of Books of which less than five copies are recorded in the United Kingdom*. [Oxford?] 1956. Duplicated.

13. Hiscock, W. G.: *The Christ Church Supplement to Wing's Short-Title Catalogue, 1641-1700*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1956.

14. Bowes, Robert: *Catalogue of Books Printed at or Relating to the University, Town, and County of Cambridge*. Cambridge, Macmillan and Bowes, 1894. *A List of Books Printed in Cambridge at the University Press, 1521-1800*. Cambridge, University Press, 1935.

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16. Madan noticed them in the Oxford Bible in English of 1679, (Madan 3243) but misunderstood their purpose; there four symbols are used: round brackets, asterisk, dagger, and double dagger. The earliest use of Arabic numerals known to the writer is in the *Book of Common Prayer*, Oxford, 1685. It is unfortunate that it is undated, but since King James II and Queen Mary are prayed for—and the leaves on which the prayers are printed are not cancels—it cannot be earlier than 1685 or later than June 1688, when the Prince of Wales was born.

17. The practice seems to have been completely abandoned by about 1830.

18. Giles E. Dawson has proved that this was the case with the later surreptitious reprint, one of the two editions of *Othello* dated 1724. See: Dawson, G. E.: Three Shakespeare Piracies in the Eighteenth Century. *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia*. vol. 1. Charlottesville, The Society, 1948-49, pp. 49-58.

19. Knotts, W. E.: Press Numbers as a Bibliographical Tool. A Study of Gay's *The Beggar's Opera*. *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 3:198-212, Spring 1949.

20. Todd, W. B.: Observations on the Incidence and Interpretation of Press Figures. *Studies in Bibliography*, 3:171-205, 1950-51; Recurrent Printing. *Studies in Bibliography*, 12:189-198, 1959.

21. The late Sir Frederic Kenyon wrote to *The Times Literary Supplement* in 1933 (32:276, April 20, 1933) asking where the second edition was to be found. Dudley Massey in a letter published in the same paper (36:156, Feb. 27, 1937) distinguished between the two editions, but, though in his own words, "they differed throughout," he concluded that they were "two variant states." They are quite clearly editions. It is a good illustration of the extraordinary and irrational attraction that the word "issue" has for booksellers and others that even today, the first edition of *Some Thoughts* is offered for sale as "the first issue of the first edition," though it is known that it comes from a different setting of type.

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28. See Herbert Davis's lecture: Bowyer's Paper Stock Ledger. *The Library*, 5th series, 6:73-87, Sept. 1951.

29. William Strahan. Autograph Manuscript Account Books and Journals. *Sotheby's Catalogue*, lot 616, Dec. 9-11, 1957.

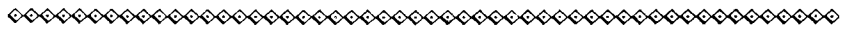
30. Austen-Leigh, R. A.: William Strahan and His Ledgers. *The Library*, 4th series, 3:261-287, Mar. 1923.

31. Stevenson, A. H.: New Uses of Watermarks as Bibliographical Evidence. *Studies in Bibliography*, 1:149-182, 1948-49. Watermarks are Twins, *Studies in Bibliography*, 4:57-91, 1951-52.

32. The deplorable habit of silently making-up copies by the insertion of leaves, or of altering their original state by moving advertisements or manuscript material from one copy to another should not require any condemnation; yet librarians as well as booksellers are at times guilty of it. The imperfection caused in certain plays at the British Museum (some of them once David Garrick's copies) by the stealing of leaves from them was the starting point of Foxon's inquiry, which led to the publication of his excellent monograph, *Thomas J. Wise and the Pre-Restoration Drama*. Some of the plays fall in the S.T.C. periods, but Foxon's skill in devising techniques—for example, the measurement of the distance between the stab holes, and the argument from the impression which a creased leaf makes in the following leaf—deserves the warmest praise and serves as an example for investigators in any period.

Printed Books, 1640-1800

33. C. B. Oldman drew attention to this Act in his note: Watermark Dates in English Paper. *The Library*, 4th series, 25:70-71, June-Sept. 1944-45.
34. Longman, C. J.: *The House of Longmans 1724-1800: A Bibliographical History*. Edited by J. E. Chandler. London, New York, Longmans, 1936.
35. Philip, I. G. *William Blackstone and the Reform of the Oxford University Press in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford, Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the University Press, 1957.
36. Blagden, Cyprian, and Hodgson, Norma: *The Notebook of Thomas Bennet and Henry Clements*. Oxford, Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the University Press, 1956.
37. Other uses and dangers are discussed by W. B. Todd in: On the Use of Advertisements in Bibliographical Studies. *The Library*, 5th series, 8:174-187, Sept. 1953.
38. Blagden, Cyprian: The Genesis of the Term Catalogues. *The Library*, 5th series, 8:30-35, Mar. 1953; The Missing Term Catalogue. *Studies in Bibliography*, 7:185-190, 1955; Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century. *Studies in Bibliography*, 6:161-180, 1954.
39. Eyre, G. E. B.: *A Transcript of the Register of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, from 1640-1708*. 3 vols. London, Privately Printed, 1913-14.
40. *Index of Titles and Proprietors of Books Entered in the Book of Registry of the Stationers' Company*. . . . [1910].
41. De Ricci, Seymour: *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530-1930) and Their Marks of Ownership*. Cambridge, University Press, 1930.
42. Howe, Ellic: *A List of London Bookbinders, 1648-1815*. London, Bibliographical Society, 1950; Howe, Ellic: *The London Bookbinders, Masters and Men, 1780-1806*. London, Dropmore Press, 1950; Howe, Ellic, and Child, John: *The Society of London Bookbinders, 1780-1951*. London, Sylvan Press, 1952.
43. Ramsden, C. F. I.: *Bookbinders of the United Kingdom (Outside London) 1780-1840*. London, Privately Printed, 1954; *London Bookbinders 1780-1840*. London, Batsford, 1956.
44. Manuscript notes should always be carefully studied; this will hardly be questioned by anyone who knows the story of the discovery that the Chatsworth copy of Walter Hylton's *Scala Perfectionis* had been inscribed and presented by Lady Margaret Beaufort and Elizabeth of York—a discovery made after the sale. Dated notes of ownership are particularly useful, if used with discretion, when trying to date an undated book.
45. Nixon, H. M.: *Broxbourne Library. Styles and Designs of Bookbindings from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Century*. London, Published for the Broxbourne Library by Maggs Bros., 1956.
46. Edmund Burke's correspondence, of which a large amount has been preserved, has, for example, a number of letters referring to cancels in his work. In 1952, Myers and Company (Booksellers) Ltd. of New Bond Street, offered for sale a letter of his about leaves which must be cancelled in the second of the *Two Letters* on a Regicide Peace, (1796). (Myers 371/62).
47. Cole, G. W.: *Index to Bibliographical Papers*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press for the Bibliographical Society of America, 1933.
48. Bowers, F. T.: *Textual and Literary Criticism*. Cambridge, 1959, p. 116.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 5.



British Periodicals of the Victorian Age: Bibliographies and Indexes

WALTER E. HOUGHTON

WRITING IN 1858, Wilkie Collins called his time "the age of periodicals."¹ Even a cursory comparison of the mid-Victorian journals, in quality and prestige, with those of the 1750's or the 1950's shows that Collins was right. The nineteenth century, especially from 1825 to 1900, was the golden age of the magazine and the review. The present century might be called, by contrast, the age of newspapers and of radio news. What the Victorians had, at both the level of the educated and the level of the "masses," was a body of quarterlies, monthlies, and weeklies which in part, sometimes large part, was concerned with the serious discussion of ideas, and which commanded a prestige unmatched today. Thomas Carlyle described the *Edinburgh Review* as "a kind of Delphic oracle and voice of the inspired for the great majority of what is called 'the intelligent public'." An old Lincolnshire squire assured Tennyson's father that next to the Bible the best thing one could read was the *Quarterly Review*. The monthlies—*Blackwood's*, *Fraser's*, the *Cornhill*, and others—were also read by "practical people, the trading interests, and the middle classes."² Moreover, every literary man of distinction, and many political leaders and ecclesiastics, including prime ministers and archbishops of Canterbury, as well as famous educators, scientists, philosophers, and historians, wrote for the reviews. Some of the outstanding books of the period—Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, for example, Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, and Huxley's *Science and Christian Tradition*—were simply essays, or chapters of a serial, reprinted from the Victorian journals. By the time that Poole brought out his great *Index to Periodical Literature* in 1882, he could say, in words that reinforce Collins's definition of the age, "The best writers and the great states-

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men of the world, where they formerly wrote a book or pamphlet, now contribute an article to a leading review or magazine, and it is read before the month is ended in every country in Europe. . . . Every question in literature, religion, politics, social science, political economy . . . finds its latest and freshest interpretation in the current periodicals.”³

If nothing like that could be claimed for the eighteenth century or the twentieth, what made it true of the nineteenth? The answer is suggested in a contemporary essay by Walter Bagehot called “The First Edinburgh Reviewers” (1855). “The modern man,” he said, “must be told what to think—shortly, no doubt—but he *must* be told it. The essay-like criticism of modern times is about the length which he likes.” Bagehot also meant that he wants to be told. The age of periodicals was the age of a growing democracy, political and social, in which it was felt that a much larger reading public, still with little education and little political experience, simply had to be guided; and not, of course, by the old aristocracy, but by the new “aristocracy of talent” which edited and wrote the reviews. At the same time these middle-class readers, for their part, were only too eager to attain the culture—or the veneer of culture—that the periodicals could provide. They had neither the training nor the time to read scholarly treatises. “Impatient of system, desirous of brevity, puzzled by formality,” they found “the review-like essay and the essay-like review” exactly to their taste.⁴

Moreover, it was also an age of rapidly changing and expanding knowledge, especially in the fields of science, history, and theology. People were confused by the mass of new facts and novel theories. They wanted to know the answers. And, to make the assistance of periodicals the more necessary, they were expected to know them—at any rate to give them. For everyone had to have an opinion on a score of disputed points in politics, religion, and morals. Not to do so was shameful: it implied indifference to crucial issues or failure to keep abreast of advancing knowledge. Surely anyone who was a person of importance, or professed to be (that is, any member of the middle class), ought to know where he stood on evolution or the Oxford Movement; what he thought of Carlyle or Mill; whether or not he believed in mesmerism or phrenology. He ought to have a theory of the universe and a view of human nature. “Old Leisure,” in the pre-Victorian days of the early century, “was quite a different personage,” as George Eliot described him in *Adam Bede*. “He was a

contemplative, rather stout gentleman . . . of quiet perceptions, undiseased by hypothesis; happy in his inability to know the causes of things, preferring the things themselves.”⁵ His Victorian child or grandchild, on the other hand, is well represented by the “man of great gifts and requirements” [sic] with whom John Tyndall once walked down Regent Street, discussing various theological questions. “I could not accept his views,” Tyndall reported, “of the origin and destiny of the universe, nor was I prepared to enunciate any definite views of my own. He turned to me at length and said, ‘You surely must have a theory of the universe’.”⁶ Faced with such expectations, one was doubly glad to have an answer ready, for himself as well as his friends.

The other side of the coin—the undermining of old established beliefs by the new developments, social and intellectual—has its bearing too on the prestige and authority of the journals. The age of periodicals was also the age of doubt, and for the Victorians doubt was painful and disturbing. They had grown up, by and large, with firm beliefs in the old order—Christian orthodoxy under the rule of church or chapel, and the political oligarchy of king and nobility. Suddenly the air was full of questions: Is true religion Christianity or is it Theism? and if Christianity, is the truth in the High Church? the Broad Church? the Low Church? Or if in none of them, which of the dissenting chapels has the pure faith of Christ? Or is every creed a delusion and nothing true but the blank materialism of “science”? In such a fluid and tense situation, every sect almost had its own periodical, reinforcing and bolstering its position, and readers turned to one or another, or to the general reviews, for the resolution, they hoped, of their religious doubts. To a lesser extent, the same situation existed in the political world. The French Revolution had ended the domination of the *ancien régime*, in both fact and theory, and spawned a long line of constitution-makers and reformers of society. At the same time the Industrial Revolution was creating complex problems, not only of the relations between “masters” and “men,” but of the degree of government interference, if any, in business and education. Tories, Whigs, and Radicals (democrats and Benthamites) had their respective reviews (the *Quarterly*, the *Edinburgh*, and the *Westminster* were the leading organs), and even smaller parties like the Chartists or the Christian Socialists had theirs, spreading the gospel; while worried citizens, perplexed by the pros and cons of trade unions or democracy or socialism, turned to them for guidance.

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This intellectual situation and the "essay-like review" are closely connected. When there was no longer any accepted body of beliefs, and men were wrestling painfully with a multitude of new facts and tentative theories, they saw truth in fragments—and wrote it in essays; and for readers, the very limitation of length, which allowed the writer, as Bagehot says, to avoid "analysing all difficulties, discussing all doubts," was entirely welcome: they wanted solutions and not deeper—and more confusing—analysis.⁷

From what has been said, the importance of the Victorian periodicals to the historian can scarcely be exaggerated. In scores of journals and thousands of articles he has a remarkable record of contemporary thought in every field, and a full range of opinion, from right to left, on every major question—a range far exceeding what he could find, in many cases, in what books were devoted to the topic being investigated, if any. Indeed, there are aspects of Victorian culture, minor ones, no doubt, but parts of the total picture, which simply do not exist in published books, or if they do, are entirely hidden from the scholar because there is no subject index to Victorian ideas and attitudes. (The only approximation to one, it turns out, is an index to periodical literature!) Also, reviews and magazines have the advantage, more than books, of reflecting the current situation, so that they are indispensable for the study of opinion at a given moment or in a short span of years.

If all this is true, the scholar must have at hand the indispensable tools for research. He must have bibliographies and indexes that can guide him through an enormous body of documents and throw a flash of light on the primary sources he must use in order to make the past meaningful. What is now available? What additional aids are needed?

So far as the periodicals themselves are concerned, the scholar has nearly all he could wish. In the *Union List of Serials in Libraries of the United States and Canada* (2nd ed. 1943, with supplements to 1949) and the fine *British Union-Catalogue of Periodicals . . . in British Libraries* (4 vols., 1955-1958), he has a fairly complete bibliography, as well as full information on the location of files. The arrangement in both is alphabetical. The *Tercentenary Handlist of English & Welsh Newspapers, Magazines, & Reviews*, published in 1920 by *The Times*, has the advantage of not being "controlled" by library holdings, and of an arrangement by initial date of publication, which shows what new journals were appearing in any year or span of years.

But as the title implies, Scotch and Irish periodicals have been omitted. W. S. Ward's *Index and Finding List of Serials Published in the British Isles, 1789-1832* (1953), is more complete than anything else, but its terminal date makes it of little value for Victorian studies. A second volume, from 1832 to 1900, would be very useful. Finally, there are the sections called "The Weekly Papers," "Magazines and Reviews," and "School and University Journalism" written by H. G. Pollard for Volume 3 of *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, edited by F. W. Bateson (1940). In this extensive list, covering all the periodicals a scholar would ordinarily need, changes of title and series are noted, and for each journal—a unique and valuable feature—the names of successive editors are given.

The arrangement is chronological by date of founding, but titles are included in the index to the whole work (vol. 4).

Though not a bibliography, strictly speaking, Walter Graham's *English Literary Periodicals* (1930) is a survey of the field which takes up so many magazines in short paragraphs or single sentences that it amounts, in fact, to a descriptive bibliography. The qualifying "literary" of the title is meant to exclude only scientific and scholarly journals, but the wide spread, from 1680 to 1930, makes the number of Victorian items relatively small. Another book that is also historical in form but of great bibliographical value, is R. D. Altick's *The English Common Reader* (1957). His two chapters on "Periodicals and Newspapers" are indispensable for the study of magazines aimed at what were called the "lower classes."

Bibliographies of books and articles about the periodicals are fewer and less satisfactory than those of the periodicals themselves. There are various lists of histories of journalism and publishing—most of them, however, concerned only with newspapers—and of memoirs and letters of proprietors and editors. None of them, however, is a critical list that would guide the scholar to the particular books he could use.⁹ What is specially wanted here is an extensive bibliography arranged by journals, bringing together, under the head of each, all the relevant materials, primary and secondary, bearing on editors, publishers, policies, contributors, and readers. If such an organization, together with a section for books dealing with general considerations, each with a descriptive sentence or two, were to be adopted for a *Bibliography of Studies in Victorian Periodicals*, a major need of scholars would be supplied. As a matter of fact, Altick's section in the *Supplement*¹⁰ to the *Cambridge Bibliography* is almost a perfect

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model, on a small scale, of what is wanted. It is also, in its own right, the best list there is of the latest research, and shows the emergence of a whole series of monographs in which individual periodicals are viewed as mirrors of the age, or of special political and religious groups. Francis Mineka's *The Dissidence of Dissent: The Monthly Repository, 1806-1838* (1944) may be cited as representative.

In the field of bibliography, another book, smaller than the one just outlined but of real value, would be a checklist of contemporary opinion. It would bring together articles like John Sterling's "The Periodical Press," Leslie Stephen's "The First Edinburgh Reviewers," or the survey of the principal journals in *Critic* for 1851 and 1852, and include chapters from memoirs (like that on the *Westminster Review* in Sir John Bowring's *Autobiographical Recollections*) as well as collateral discussions like Matthew Arnold's in "The Function of Criticism" and "The Literary Influence of Academies." Such a collection would provide the materials for an interesting study in cultural history—call it "The Victorian View of Periodical Literature."

Though only recently, nineteenth-century scholars have come to realize that the Victorian periodicals contain a mass of significant materials in all fields of study (art, economics, history, literature, philosophy, religion, and science) and form a rich source of historical knowledge—potentially. As it is, the source has scarcely been tapped for lack of adequate indexing, and the recurrent questions too often go unanswered: what did the Victorians think of China or Lamartine? what was the contemporary reaction to Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* or George Eliot's *Romola*? what articles did so-and-so write for the *Edinburgh* or *Fraser's*? who was the author of this anonymous review of *In Memoriam* or that anonymous article on paper currency? Most of these questions cannot be answered, except here and there, partly by accident, until an index, or indexes, to the leading periodicals which will cover subjects, authors, and books reviewed is possessed.

Something approaching that was the aim of the *Nineteenth Century Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*, under the editorship of Helen Grant Cushing and Adah V. Morris. The plan was to move backward from 1900, a decade at a time; but after the first two volumes appeared in 1944, covering 1890-1899, the project was dropped. And in any case, the limited number of English journals that were included (only thirteen) and the reliance for the identification of anonymous authors

largely on a few publishers' lists that are available would have made this work, even if completed, somewhat short of ideal for students of England.¹¹

The great index, of course, is Poole's; and it commands the admiration and respect of anyone who can remotely imagine the work involved or realize the tremendous value of a subject index to ninety British periodicals from 1802 to 1900. But it has its limitations: the year is not given, the volumes are numbered consecutively, disregarding series, the page citation is not inclusive. More serious, the subject headings are not standard, and the subject chosen is sometimes inappropriate because it has been adopted from a misleading title or running-title—which means, in effect, that the real subject in such cases is not indexed at all. Moreover, a number of journals of scholarly importance today are not covered: *The British Critic* (to which Newman, Keble, Pusey, and other High Churchmen contributed), W. J. Fox's Unitarian *Monthly Repository*, (which published articles by J. S. Mill and Harriet Martineau), *Meliora*, the first journal of sociology, and the Roman Catholic *Rambler*, edited by Lord Acton, are among the dozen or so unfortunate omissions.

Nevertheless, here is an answer to what the Victorians thought, and on large topics like China and Lamartine, one that is adequate for generalization. On smaller topics—say, Tibet or the concept of hell—it is less reliable because articles dealing with them may well have titles or running-titles of a broader character and will therefore appear—that is, will be concealed—in a long list of essays under "Asia" or "Travel" "Religion" or "Christianity"; and that may leave only a few, too few for generalization, under the topic itself. Someday, a new work, with a larger and more rigorous system of categories and a more liberal use of cross-references, will have to be prepared,¹² but for the time being, Poole will do well enough—as a subject index.

But that is all it is. For book reviews it is hopelessly inadequate. All short notices, though they may run to two or three pages, tens of thousands of them, are omitted; the sizeable reviews, which form separate articles, are placed sometimes under the subject, sometimes under the author; and, most unfortunate, unless the author's name or the title of the book being reviewed appears in the title or running-title of the article, the book will probably not be indexed at all. A major treatise like Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* will fare pretty well, with perhaps half of the reviews listed that appeared in the ninety

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periodicals, though placed under "Political Economy," not under "Mill." But criticism of a novel like *Romola*, which is often noticed with other books by other writers or by Eliot herself, is buried under such headings as "Fiction," "Novels," or "George Eliot." By name, Poole mentions exactly two reviews of *Romola*. It is obvious, therefore, that a comprehensive list of books reviewed, arranged by author and, where anonymous, by title (together with the identification of the author, wherever possible) is a major desideratum of periodical scholarship. Such an index is now being prepared in the Wellesley College Library, and will be published, eventually, as Volume 1 of *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900*.¹³

Finally, for the names of the contributors, Poole is almost useless. What names he gives are placed, of course, under the subject listing of an article, and they amount to only about four or five per cent of the total. Here Poole was faced with an insurmountable obstacle. The almost universal custom of anonymity or of pseudonymity (including initials) in the Victorian journals means that perhaps only three per cent of the articles in the whole period are signed, and before 1870, closer to one per cent, if that many. The main reasons for this practice, so contrary to the procedure today, are the political nature of the early journals, which made them organs of a party and not a collection of individual opinions, and the claim that a reviewer, discussing a book written by a friend or a person in power, could be more candid and honest in both his criticism and his praise if his name were withheld. That he might also be irresponsible was a possibility only gradually emphasized as the century advanced.¹⁴ But whatever the defense, the fact is that to track down the names of thousands of anonymous and pseudonymous writers requires an amount of time and a training in methods of scholarly research which Poole and his associates simply did not have. Most of the names they print, therefore, are the signatures to signed articles, which accounts at once for their low percentage. Moreover, where the identification was otherwise made, the evidence is not given and the attribution, therefore, cannot be checked—in itself a scholarly liability; and to make matters worse, many of the attributions are wrong, which in turn makes the scholar fearful of trusting those that are right. They are wrong because the compilers relied too confidently on marked files, which vary greatly, of course, depending on the marker and the degree of inside information he may have had. Much of the time, it would appear, the marker was guessing, perhaps shrewdly, perhaps wildly. Marked

files can be wonderfully helpful in suggesting hypothetical authorships, but the hypothesis in every case has to be checked, often a long procedure.

To rectify this major defect in Poole, *The Wellesley Index* has set out, in its second volume, to identify the anonymous and pseudonymous contributors to about fifty Victorian periodicals. Because the number of articles in the weeklies is astronomical and their brevity discourages republication (a fertile source for discovering the author), the project is limited, for the time being at any rate, to quarterlies and monthlies; and since the *Index* is intended primarily for intellectual historians, it is concerned only with critical essays, though the term is broadly interpreted as covering everything except poetry and "pure" fiction.

Within each periodical, arranged alphabetically from *Blackwood's* to the *Westminster*, each article will be listed chronologically. It will bear an item number, the title or running-title, inclusive pagination, the name of the author (most of the time, it is hoped), and the evidence for the attribution. This evidence is to be "factual" or objective. Characteristics of style or thought are always uncertain clues to authorship, and in any event require both careful reading and specialized knowledge of the particular writer, requisites one can scarcely command for so large a project. The evidence given will be roughly evaluated as "certain," "probable," or "possible." The volume will conclude with an "Index to Contributors," listing each man's essays by periodical initials and item number. This will mean that the scholar wishing to know what articles a particular author wrote, as well as the scholar wishing to know who wrote a particular article, will find what he wants, at least in theory, in Volume 2 of *The Wellesley Index*.

Broadly speaking, the problem of attribution can be attacked in two ways: The "direct" or "vertical" method focuses in turn on each periodical, looking for publishers' lists and marked files, exploring the correspondence of the editors and major contributors, much of it in manuscript in England, and examining all monographs and articles dealing with that particular journal. The "indirect" or "horizontal" method concentrates (1) on collections of essays (there must be several thousands listed in the *Cambridge Bibliography*) in which a given writer reprints his periodical contributions, quite often giving the sources in the preface or in footnotes;¹⁵ (2) on such biographies and collections of letters, printed and in manuscript, as can be found

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for all known contributors—which turns out to be a rather high percentage because biography was so popular in the Victorian period that many minor figures, who today would receive only a memorial essay, could then command a large “Life and Letters”; and (3) on whatever bibliographies exist, either independently (like Mill’s of his own work or T. B. Smart’s of Matthew Arnold) or appended to standard lives.¹⁶ The amount of research to be done is appalling if one thinks about it, but if he concentrates on a particular journal or a particular writer, and brings all of his knowledge and ingenuity into play, he can begin to fill in the names on the blank cards, with a sense of steady accomplishment.

Someone will ask, “Is it worth it? What does it matter whether or not we know the author of the essay on Athenian architecture in the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1852? All that matters is the essay itself as a mirror of contemporary opinion.” But this is not true. In the case of controversial essays (and that covers about 80 per cent of the materials), one can often make an intelligent interpretation only in the light of an author’s known position or of his other writings.¹⁷ Moreover, the context in which one discusses a given article, and therefore its place in a work of scholarship, can be quite different once the author is known. Still further, the special value of the “Index to Contributors”—namely, that it will provide an extensive bibliography of the periodical writings of at least a thousand Victorians, including a good many articles that are not at present known to be by their authors—depends, of course, on these individual identifications. (If it is not important to know that the article on Athenian architecture was written by Coventry Patmore, it is important to know that Coventry Patmore wrote this article on Athenian architecture.) Finally, the fact that many Victorian books were first published as a series of periodical essays means that a book could be read, in its original form at least, in a library that had no copy of it, provided the library owned a file of the relevant periodical and this *Index*.¹⁸

When students and scholars have at hand not only Poole and the *Reader’s Guide* (for 1890-1899), but also *The Wellesley Index* (Volume 1 of which is scheduled for publication in 1965 and Volume 2 in 1967), they will not possess everything they could wish. They will still be able to dream of better Pooles and bigger Wellesley Indexes that will include the weeklies—and another fifty or so quarterlies and monthlies—just for good measure. But for nearly every question they will have sufficient clues to give a reasonable answer. They will be

able to understand more fully and interpret more wisely the "Age of Periodicals."

Bibliographical Notes

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3. *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature*. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1882 edition, p. iv.
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10. *Supplement to the Cambridge Bibliography*, pp. 683-687. Pollard had used this format for a few journals in the main edition, Vol. 3, pp. 832-833.
11. Other indexes, except for Poole, which are discussed further, may be found in the *World Bibliography*, 3144-3148.
12. Stewart, Powell, and Sutherland, W. O. S., Jr.: Techniques for a Subject-Index of 18th-Century Journals. *The Library Chronicle of the University of Texas*, 5:6-15, Spring 1956. The writer understands that such an index is now being compiled, under the direction of Stewart and Sutherland, and that a copy of their "Subject Categories" may be obtained from the editors.
13. An early starting date was chosen because in the late twenties new ideas and new political movements were emerging that are characteristically Victorian. The specific date, 1824, is the year in which the important *Westminster Review* started publication.

British Periodicals of the Victorian Age: Bibliographies and Indexes

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15. *The "A.L.A." Index*, that is, W. I. Fletcher's *Index to General Literature*, 1st ed., 1893; 2nd ed., Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1901, can be used for this purpose because an anonymous article, say on "Optimism," may appear there, under that topic, with a reference to the collection of essays where it was reprinted under the author's name.

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17. Cf. a remark by F. W. Newman, *In: The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough*. Edited by F. L. Mulhauser. 2 vols. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1957, Vol. 1, p. 187. "So soon as I knew who Alpha was [i.e. Clough, who had used the pseudonym in a letter to the *Spectator*], his writing in many respects became modified to my understanding; for we inevitably interpret words by our previous knowledge of friends."

18. *The Wellesley Index* is being edited in the Wellesley College Library, Wellesley, Massachusetts, under the general direction of Walter E. Houghton, with the assistance of Eileen Curran of Colby College, Mrs. Esther Rhoads Houghton, and Michael Wolff of Indiana University, editors, and Mary Wallace and Mrs. Priscilla Coleman Ross, research assistants.

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Twentieth-Century Books

MATTHEW J. BRUCCOLI

A man said to the universe:
"Sir, I exist!"
"However," replied the universe,
"The fact has not created in me
A sense of obligation."

THE PLIGHT OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHER who specializes in twentieth-century books is analogous to that of the man in Stephen Crane's poem. The universe refuses to take him seriously. The young, would-be bibliographer of twentieth-century books is hard put to learn his trade; and after he has somehow trained himself, there are few organs—in the United States, at least—in which he can publish. The reasons for this are not hard to find. Since the scholarly community is not yet altogether reconciled to the reading of twentieth-century books, it cannot help regarding the laborious bibliographical examination of them as faintly ludicrous. However, there is a second, more serious barrier; and this is the general attitude that modern technology has either perfected printing or made it so complex that it is beyond the comprehension of a bibliographer. Nevertheless, modern printing is by no means perfected—whatever that is supposed to mean; it has only become more highly developed. All problems have not vanished. If some of the old problems no longer recur, new ones have arisen. However, it is true that twentieth-century books often defy the bibliographer who lacks a working knowledge of machine printing. Merle Johnson stated this bluntly in 1929: "A good practical printer can tell more about first editions than all your experts." There is nothing for it—a bibliographer working on twentieth-century books has to understand the fundamentals of machine composition, plating, imposition, and planographic printing.

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Since any account of the bibliography of twentieth-century books is invariably an apology for it, let us proceed with the defense. In this paper the term "bibliography" means "descriptive bibliography" and "textual bibliography." This involves studying a Hemingway novel with the same care that is applied to a Shakespeare quarto. The principal aims are the same—to establish the best possible text of a given work and to allow one researcher to describe one copy of a book in such a way that other researchers will be able to compare it with different copies. Valuable by-products also emerge from this work, such as an index of a book's popularity, a picture of an author's revision habits, and an indication of any censorship. This is clearly a very different thing from the check lists which masquerade as bibliographies of twentieth-century authors; however, such check lists are often useful when it comes time to prepare real bibliographies. If the detractors of twentieth-century literature are still unconvinced of the value of such bibliography, perhaps they can be reconciled to the thought that this work is developing methods which can be held in readiness until such time as a new renaissance comes along.

In a way, the title of this article is misleading. The bibliographical study of twentieth-century books is not a self-contained entity bounded by the year 1900; rather it is an extension of the methods applicable to nineteenth-century books. The period of machine printing was born when stereotyping was introduced at about 1825, and achieved its majority when linotype was invented in 1884-1885. But the bibliographer of twentieth-century books cannot find aid or comfort in this. He cannot draw upon a solid body of work on nineteenth-century books because the nineteenth century has not yet received proper bibliographical attention.

The situation of the bibliographer of twentieth-century books is unenviable. The apprentice bibliographer has nowhere to turn for his apprenticeship. If he is fortunate enough to attend one of the few universities offering work in the bibliography of hand-printed books, he may then complete his training by attaching himself to someone who has—God knows how—managed to acquire an understanding of the bibliographical study of machine-printed books. There are no texts on the subject. Apart from the last section of Fredson Bowers' *Principles of Bibliographical Description*,¹ John Cook Wyllie's article on "The Forms of Twentieth-Century Canceleds,"² and D. B. Boswell's *A Text-Book on Bibliography*,³ there is very little at all on the subject. The last-mentioned work, though extremely useful, is not a text on

bibliography; it is a primer on machine printing. An R. B. McKerrow of machine printing is wanted. Models, too, are wanted. J. N. Blanck's monumental *Bibliography of American Literature*,⁴ which does not include authors who lived past 1930, provides a methodology. However, a work of such broad scope cannot—and was not intended to—supplant a series of model author bibliographies.

Both the library schools and the graduate school departments of English should develop comprehensive bibliography courses which cover hand printing and machine printing. Moreover, every effort should be made to establish rapport between the classroom and the university press, so that students will have opportunities to become familiar with equipment and shop practice. In addition to actually training bibliographers, this educational program would produce other benefits. The enlightenment of catalogers and curators would aid the cause of bibliography. After all, a bibliographer must locate books before he can examine them—and this tiresome chore would be accelerated if more libraries took an interest in preserving reprints of twentieth-century books. Just try to find certain discontinued Modern Library titles, for example. Critics too—even new critics—would benefit from bibliographical training. There would certainly be fewer explications of metaphors which entered the text as typos. An eloquent plea for the application of bibliography to the novel is given in Bruce Harkness's "Bibliography and the Novelistic Fallacy,"⁵ which includes examples of textual blunders made by critics.

The situation of bibliography is typified by the reckless way bibliographical terminology is applied to twentieth-century books. A given form of a book may be described as a printing, an issue, a state, a variant, or even as an edition. Depending upon which glossaries one consults, each of these terms has a variety of meanings. As a result of this Humpty-Dumptyism, the terms have become virtually meaningless when applied to twentieth-century books, except in the hands of a few careful workers. Yet these terms have been, for the most part, respected in the area of hand-printed books. To date, the only attempt to reform the language of bibliography as it is applied to machine-printed books has been in *Principles of Bibliographical Description*.

Edition and *impression* involve no difficult concepts, and there is no excuse for the improper use of them. An *edition* consists of all the copies printed from one setting of type or from plates made from that setting of type. *Impression*—frequently called *printing*, but *impressions* is preferable—is included within *edition*. *Impression* refers to

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the copies printed at any one time from the same setting of type without removing the types or plates from the press.

Issue and *state* are included within *impression*, and are more difficult terms. Bowers⁶ proposes these definitions for machine-printed books:

Issue: A re-issue is a special form of the original sheets of an impression, this form resulting from post-publication-date alterations made intentionally on order of the publisher or issuer to the form or forms of the sheets as originally printed in the impression concerned or as subsequently altered in state or in issue. These alterations go beyond attempts to fulfill the standards for an 'ideal copy' in completeness or proof correctness intended but not achieved at publication. To cause re-issue of the sheets, the changes must represent alterations in content or form not envisaged on publication as necessary for an 'ideal copy'; hence they constitute a definite effort to improve or change the import of a part of the sheets in a manner justifying a re-issue of the unsold sheets. Re-issue is caused only by alterations to the sheets and is not affected by variations in the publishers' binding or any of its parts. A re-issue cannot comprise a complete impression but only a part of an impression.

State: As it relates to the sheets of a book, a state is a variant form of the type-setting or make-up of one or more sheets of an impression or any of its issues, the variants resulting from alterations of any kind (a) made during the impression of the sheets, (b) made after impression but before publication, or (c) made after initial publication providing the alterations are attempts to create a form of 'ideal copy' as envisaged at the time of publication. Alterations to the sheets of an impression form a state if they result from the binder's initiative and not as a publishing effort by order of the publisher. As it relates to binding, all variations of publishers' binding or its parts used to case the sheets of an impression (including its issues) comprise state of the binding whether occurring before or after the date of initial publication.

If these definitions overwhelm the neophyte, they also make the point that this branch of study demands accuracy.

The problem of terminology is of great moment. Not only does the present anarchy interfere with the exchange of information between bibliographers, it also undermines that excellent tool, the bookseller's catalog. The bibliography of twentieth-century books is a wide-open field, and it is a dull-witted bibliographer who fails to discover lines of investigation from the perusal of catalogs. But the

process is confused by the fact that bookmen are among the worst abusers of bibliographical terminology. A copy advertised as a second issue may lead to a textual crux; then again, it may be only a variant binding.

A terminological reform that carried over to dealers might well result in another great benefit, the education of collectors. Every bibliographer owes much to generous collectors who have shared their books with him. But all too frequently the collector of twentieth-century books does not really know what he is about; he may collect just "first editions" (i.e., first impressions of first editions) or perhaps he may gather binding variants under the misapprehension that these have some bearing on the text. The bibliographer has a real stake in acquainting collectors with the need to collect the later impressions of a book printed from plates. Much of the bibliographer's work in machine-printed books involves differentiating impressions, and it would be a great convenience to have impression collections to draw upon.

Mention of the differentiation of impressions leads to a discussion of the methods employed by the bibliographer of twentieth-century books. In undertaking any research on an author whose books were printed from plates, the bibliographer's first task is to establish an edition-impression family tree for each title. Publishers' records—even if these are available—are not to be accepted without verification. The separation between publishing house and printing plant has led to the situation in which the publisher knows little about the precise printing details of his books—and cares less. Nor are the details some publishers supply on the copyright pages of their books to be taken at face value. Concealed impressions are quite common. Moreover, the codes that some publishers employ to indicate impression frequently suffer breakdown. For example, the numeral at the end of the text used by Appleton to mark the first impression of Edith Wharton's *The Children* probably includes four impressions.

The best method for differentiating impressions of a machine-printed book is by determining the pedigree of its plates on the basis of textual revision or correction. The discovery of such plate emendations also provides the stuff of literary criticism. This writer's own studies of textual revisions in books printed from plates indicate, for example, that F. Scott Fitzgerald's highly-publicized illiteracy was at least partly the fault of cavalier editing⁷ and that the erudite James Branch Cabell made errors in French, Spanish, and Latin.⁸

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As a rule of thumb, it may be assumed that few books escape plate alteration. In addition to intentional textual emendation, plate batter is extremely common. Metal plates are actually quite delicate. Shop handling, shop mishandling, and the great pressures used in printing produce damage. Plates are usually altered or repaired by two methods: the page may be reset and replated, or part of plate may be cut out and replaced by a linotype slug. Since both methods involve removing the plate from the presses, the appearance of plate emendation is almost automatic proof of reimpression. The only exception is stop-press correction, which is extremely rare.⁹

The only reliable way to go about the chore of locating textual emendations in plates is to collate every word of a first-impression copy against a copy from the last impression of the edition. Since the mortised-in type metal is softer than the plate metal and tends to spread during printing, a quick check may be made by looking for lines or parts of lines which are darker; but the only satisfactory method is complete collation. Until recently this was a tiresome and imprecise process because the human eye is not a dependable instrument. Now, however, there is a splendid machine which makes the job easier and more accurate.¹⁰ The Hinman collating machine enables the bibliographer to collate two copies of the same edition. The investigator looks at the same page in both copies at once through a binocular viewer. So long as the pages are identical, the effect is that of seeing a single page, but any resetting or damage will seem to blink. The trained operator will also be able to recognize signs of type wear. With practice, a book may be machine-collated at the rate of forty pages an hour; however, for most purposes it is not necessary to collate the whole work. A sample collation of fifty pages is sufficient. Of course, this machine is not limited to twentieth-century books. Hinman developed it to aid in his studies of Shakespeare's *First Folio*.

In cases where no plate emendation is discernable, the bibliographer has recourse to other methods. A change in the gathering of a book indicates reimposition, which indicates reimpression. For example, if two copies of a book are identical in every respect, except that one is gathered in 8's and the other in 16's, the bibliographer knows he is dealing with two impressions. Gutter measurement at gathering centers is another indication of reimposition. Any significant variation in gutter measurement—more than 2 mm.—between two otherwise identical copies is an almost certain sign of reimpression. Even unrepaired plate batter provides some evidence of reimpression, for

most batter occurs in handling and storage between printings. If everything else fails, any considerable amount of type wear may be taken as an indication of reimpression, for a plate will rarely have a first run long enough to produce signs of marked wear. Although plate batter and type wear are often extremely difficult to interpret, the results can be most rewarding. For example, the order of the first four impressions of Ellen Glasgow's *They Stooped to Folly* as indicated by the title leaves is completely reversed by an analysis of type damage.^{11, 12} A preliminary attempt to apply these techniques of plate analysis to an author bibliography is reported in *James Branch Cabell: A Bibliography, Part II*.¹³

Problems of impression differentiation can be extremely complex, especially when one is confronted with duplicate plates. Although trade practice varies considerably, it appears that many publishers cast duplicate plates for a promising title and store the second set until the originals wear out. Sometimes the second set is leased to a reprint house. When the duplicate set is put to use, nothing more than reimpression is involved. But in some cases the duplicates are not revised in accordance with the revisions or corrections made during the life of the originals; and this presents the anomaly of late impressions which reintroduce an earlier textual state.¹⁴

The great development in photo-offset printing has introduced special problems which the bibliographer of twentieth-century books must recognize. A title may be reprinted by photo-offset by photographing two copies. Depending upon which impressions are used as copy text, the photo-facsimile may revert to an earlier textual state or even introduce a new textual state in the impression-edition family tree of the title.

Very little is known about the problems involved in resetting a work by rerunning a monotype tape through a type-setting machine. Reputed to be more common in Europe than in the United States, this procedure merits attention. However, the darkest area in the bibliography of twentieth-century books is imposition. In nearly every case it is currently impossible to determine how a given volume was imposed. O. L. Steele, who has been working on the problem, thinks that some techniques can be worked out on the basis of in-press type damage for books which were not printed on rotary presses.

The theme of these remarks is this: the bibliography of twentieth-century books is the last frontier of literary scholarship. A few pioneers have scouted the territory, but it is still virgin territory. Almost any

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serious effort is bound to yield results; but a united effort by the librarian, the dealer, the collector, and the scholar will turn the wilderness into a garden.

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Modern Aids to Bibliographical Research

DAVID FOXON

THE TITLE ASSIGNED to this article is an ample one and, of necessity, the author has concentrated on the general subjects which seem to be the most significant. Those developments which affect particular periods are covered in preceding articles. In general, the modern aids discussed here are only developments of earlier techniques. If R. B. McKerrow were to survey the bibliographical scene today he would see little that was not implicit in his own work.

The Hinman collating machine must take first place, not only because it is the one piece of equipment developed purely for bibliographical purposes (and a very impressive and rather expensive machine, too) but also because it was developed to study the text of Shakespeare, a study which has inspired much of the most brilliant bibliographical work in the English-speaking countries.

In the early seventeenth century it was the practice when a form of type had been set up to pull a proof (and perhaps a revise), but it was often impossible in those small printing shops to keep type standing and pressmen idle while the proof was being read. Accordingly the pressmen started printing-off sheets while the proof was read, stopped while the necessary corrections were made, and then printed-off the remainder of the sheets. As a result, only some copies of the sheet would be correct, and since this could be true of many or all the gatherings, which were assembled at random into books, the likelihood of any copy containing all the text in its corrected state is small. Moreover, in many cases the original readings may be as significant as the "corrections,"¹ so for the establishment of a text it is necessary to find all the variant readings by collating as many copies as possible.

The seventy-nine copies of Shakespeare's First Folio in the Folger Shakespeare Library accordingly offered a rich field for study; but the prospect of comparing in detail some 75,000 large double-columned folio pages was a frightening one. E. E. Willoughby made some ex-

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periments in the thirties with methods which would superimpose the image of a page from one copy with the image of the same page from another copy, but it was not until after the last war that Charlton Hinman developed the present machine which makes it possible to collate 150 pages a day with much greater accuracy than the eye alone could achieve. Full publication of Hinman's discoveries is eagerly awaited; meanwhile it is known that he has found several hundred new variant readings and has overturned some of the accepted premises on which bibliographical studies of the First Folio (and contemporary printing) have been based.²

The principle of the machine is simple: by optical means the images of two copies of a book are superimposed, page by page. They are then displayed alternately; if the two are identical the operator will appear to see only a single motionless image, but if there is any change it will call attention to itself by movement of the place where the type has been disturbed. The machine is a large structure some six feet high with book supports for the two copies, one on either side of the operator. These are illuminated, either together or alternately, by powerful lamps, and a series of mirrors superimpose their images on a final mirror facing the operator. Since the images are now reduced in size by the distance they have traveled, they are viewed through a binocular eyepiece which can also provide considerable magnification—this is invaluable for studying damaged letters. The alternate presentation of the two images is effected entirely by switching the lamps which illuminate the copies; this is carried out automatically by a device which varies the speed of alternation at will. The other controls are all designed to achieve the best possible superimposition of images.

It is not only the speed but the elimination of much human error that makes this machine so useful. Nor is its use limited to the study of textual variants: it will also show the presence of standing type at a glance where the unaided eye is at a loss. In the controversy over the misdated Shakespeare quartos printed for Pavier in 1619, Sir W. W. Greg provided evidence from type and paper to show their common origin, but it was left to W. J. Neidig³ to produce superimposed photographs showing that parts of title pages which claimed to be of different dates were clearly from standing type and used the same furniture. Evidence of this form is conclusive, and the collating machine automatically provides it.

Standing-type becomes a matter of increasing importance in the

eighteenth century when in larger and better supplied printing shops the type of pamphlets was kept standing in order to print new impressions. These are rarely announced as such, though they may masquerade as new editions. Usually they are not readily distinguishable from the originals in spite of minor corrections made to the text. These re-impressions may be roughly grouped under four heads, though the groups shade into one another and quite commonly different sheets in a book will fall into different categories:

1. Reimpressions, often made within a day or two, where the type has been kept locked up in the chases.
2. Reimpressions where the type-pages have been tied-up, sometimes with the headlines and direction-lines removed, and then re-imposed.
3. Reimpressions with textual revisions.
4. Partial reimpressions with part of the text reset.

It is impossible to say with any certainty which category any sheet falls into without the help of the collating machine; at the least, many of the most distinguished scholars can be shown, by this means, to have erred. With the machine, reimpressions of group (1) can only be detected in certain cases where the tightening of the quoins has shifted the type, but group (2) can be clearly distinguished although there is no change in the type since the irregularities in the different wooden furniture cause slight movement of the lines of type relative to one another. Group (3) has caused considerable confusion in the past; Pope, for example, on a number of occasions made numerous revisions in punctuation and capitalization between impressions, and these have been taken to show a new setting of type. But since the spacing of words depended on the compositor's choice and was not automatic (as it is with modern composing machines) every line of type has its own characteristic pattern which can be readily recognized on the collating machine wherever the corrector has not made a change.⁴ In the same way with group (4) it is possible to say with considerable certainty how much of the text has been reset. Where the text is reset, the collating machine can only record the confusion caused by superimposing two different settings: it is useless for comparing the texts of different editions.

The chief disadvantage of the collating machine in its present form is that it can only collate two copies of a book side by side, whereas what one often wants is to compare a copy with a microfilm of a copy

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in another library. Full size photocopies may be used, and perhaps the inexpensive enlargements now being made from microfilm by xerography will solve this problem at a reasonable price.

The introduction of microfilm has been of great value to scholarship, but its use for bibliographical purposes has many disadvantages. One may be able to guess the compilation of a book from microfilm if it is a straightforward one; but one cannot study paper and watermarks and all the subtle signs which may indicate such things as cancels and "sophisticated" copies where leaves have been supplied from another copy to make good imperfections—a possible cause of great confusion. Fredson Bowers has shown the best use of microfilm for bibliographical research.⁵ Here a microfilm is made of a copy whose bibliographical details have been studied, and this microfilm is then used as a standard against which other copies can be compared to determine whether any variants exist. On a more modest scale, photographic copies of title pages and ornaments can be very useful for the bibliographer and can eliminate much checking of transcriptions of out-of-the-way books. Tools such as the Polaroid Land camera or xerography which produce finished prints in a minute or so may make such work quicker and less expensive as they become more generally available.

But in all cases copying processes are no substitute for the book itself, and the closer a copy is to its originally produced form the better. The concern of collectors for "original condition" has often had no direct scholarly concern but has stemmed from a feeling for condition common to all fields of collecting. Yet the value to scholars of such copies is great, and R. W. Chapman is its best exponent. His advice to students of eighteenth-century books who search for cancels is to find a copy in original boards where their insertion is obvious;⁶ and many problems of collation vanish once such a copy comes to hand. In the study of cancels and collation, watermark evidence can be supplemented by the difference between the two sides of a piece of laid paper, one bearing the indentation of the chain lines, the other comparatively smooth; machine made paper too can still show a right and wrong side.⁷ These signs are best seen in copies that have been only lightly pressed if at all. Similarly a study of the impression of type in an unpressed copy of a book can show which side of a sheet was printed first, and thus which form went to press first. Uncut copies are useful not only for a study of the size of paper used and the relation between paper sizes and watermarks⁸ but also for the related

problem where two sheets of paper were made side by side in one mold, producing paper with chain lines running at right angles to their normal direction.⁹ The position of point-holes left by the hand press can also be of evidential value, and these are usually only found in uncut copies.¹⁰ Where books are bound in different units from those in which they are printed—e.g. a 24° gathered in 8s or a 18° in 6s—an uncut copy or even a copy which still preserves just a few deckles can clarify the collation and the printing process enormously.^{11, 12}

These examples must serve to show some of the uses of books in fine condition. As for the difficulties caused to the bibliographer by those who in rebinding books oversew the leaves (making evidence of conjugacy invisible), remove blanks and signs of provenance, and generally sacrifice evidence to appearance, all bibliographers have been frustrated by them too often for their activities to need further comment. The nearer a book is to its original condition, the better.

The study of watermarks must be dealt with here, though as A. H. Stevenson has said: "Bibliographers who fear madness may prefer to let them alone." The foundation of the Paper Publications Society at Hilversum is only one sign of the recent revival of an interest in paper which includes a number of studies of paper production in addition to volumes of watermark tracings by W. A. Churchill and Edward Heawood which supplement the classic work of C. M. Briquet. For the bibliographer the most important feature of recent work is the differentiation of similar watermarks. In the first place, most watermarks belong to a family type—e.g. pots, grapes, coats of arms—and within that family there are wide variations in design, each represented by a number of similar patterns belonging to various localities and within localities, to individual paper mills. What has not been generally recognized is that paper (at least since the fourteenth century) has been made on pairs of molds, on one of which the vatman forms a sheet while his mate, the coucher, takes the last made sheet from the other and transfers it to the pile. So the two molds alternate; they will normally have twin watermarks which may resemble each other more or less closely but, being fashioned by hand, can always be distinguished.¹³ Each of these twins will wear, be damaged, repaired, or replaced. It follows that if watermarks are to be used as positive evidence they must not be related to similar watermarks but must be identified with a pair of twins—or at least shown to be from a worn or damaged state of the same molds.

Roberto Ridolfi has recently published a monograph¹⁴ distinguishing

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thirty-eight varieties of a watermark used by the paper-makers of Colle Valdelsa near Florence which are found in Florentine incunabula; by this means he has been able to relate a number of undated editions with dated books. It is possible to reproduce watermarks photographically with considerable clarity, and Ridolfi illustrates all his specimens. What the Centro per lo Studio dei Paleotipi now aims at is a corpus of all watermarks occurring on printed paper up to 1500. Certainly this is the sort of large scale basic research which is necessary if the full benefit is to be gained from watermark evidence: but Ridolfi admits, it is an "opera gigantesca."

Watermarks suffer from obscurity—hidden in the paper, if not in the binding, and covered by the type. Printers' devices, ornaments, and woodblocks are much more readily used and with the aid of R. B. McKerrow's *Printers and Publishers' Devices*, McKerrow and F. S. Ferguson's *Title-page Borders*, and Edward Hodnett's *English Woodcuts*, it is possible to go a long way in dating and identifying the printers of early English books.

One or two studies have recently been made of seventeenth and eighteenth-century ornaments,¹⁵⁻¹⁷ but these are all of individual printers and give no help in the identification of the printer of a given book unless one remembers seeing an ornament in one of these studies. The author is attempting to collect materials for an index of eighteenth-century printers' ornaments from their return to popularity about 1710 to their decline in the 1750's. It may be of use to repeat here that there is no evidence for any general use of cast ornaments in England until the end of the eighteenth century in spite of the delicacy of many blocks. Some indeed may have been cut in metal, though the only survivor this writer has seen is cut on the end grain of boxwood, a technique practiced in Holland in the seventeenth century and certainly not invented by Thomas Bewick, as has often been said. As with watermarks there are very similar patterns which must be distinguished from each other, but each is individual; and once they are identified as belonging to printers it should be possible to study the practice of different printers and the way in which work was divided among them.

W. M. Sale's study of Samuel Richardson used this procedure to identify the books he printed and to show something of the relationships with the rest of the trade, though this was supplemented by other sources of information. The paper ledger of William Bowyer in the Bodleian Library and the Strahan papers in the British Museum are

other sources for a fuller understanding of the trade, while the records of the University presses at Oxford and Cambridge are now being studied in more detail than before. Finally, the fact that all the records of the Stationers' Company up to 1800 are now available on micro-film means that there is a great deal of archival material available to be digested and put to use.

For many purposes the bibliographer needs reference works where information is systematized and indexed and D. G. Wing's *Short Title Catalog 1641-1700* together with the indexes of printers and publishers to it and the earlier *S.T.C.* (1475-1640), compiled by P. G. Morrison, have been in many ways the most useful publications of the last twenty years. These, of course, only pave the way for the more detailed study of books and printers which can be represented in the field of reference works by W. A. Jackson's current revision of the *S.T.C.* and by F. S. Ferguson's complementary work on the printing and collations of *S.T.C.* books. From this work one can hope for a next stage of revision of the Bibliographical Society's dictionaries of printers and booksellers.

In this earlier period two such exceptional men as Jackson and Ferguson may by a life-time's work succeed in compassing their tasks alone; how the later and more prolific periods which are to be dealt with is a problem still to be resolved. It is clear that there is a need for the forging of reference tools for later periods and that these will need much research and, in present conditions, much finance. Perhaps the main aids to bibliographic research are time and money.

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The Teaching of Bibliography

ROY STOKES

THERE ARE THREE MAIN GROUPS of students who can be regarded as having some concern with bibliography and therefore liable to tuition in this subject. The first group consists of those who are pursuing literary studies within a university; secondly, those who are studying for librarianship, and thirdly, those who are preparing to enter some part of the book trade, especially on the antiquarian side. The requirements of each of these three groups will incline to be somewhat individual in their final applications, but their introductions to the study of bibliography should cover a certain amount of common ground. It is, indeed, considerably to the advantage of all who are concerned with the use of books that there should be some knowledge of the contiguous areas of scholarship. It must, of course, be understood that these three groups are by no means mutually exclusive since those who are reading literature in their undergraduate years are likely candidates for librarianship and a small proportion of them may well enter the antiquarian book trade.

Since the application of bibliography to literary studies is itself of fairly recent growth, it is not entirely surprising to find that many universities are making only inadequate attempts at providing any kind of bibliographical training. Writing for a periodical which is due to be published eventually in the English language, it is not unnatural in this connection to think primarily of English literary studies. An enormous amount has been done during the last fifty to seventy-five years to direct the main stream of bibliographical work to various chronological areas of English literary studies. While it is true that the earliest bibliographers who attained to any eminence at all were concerned primarily, if not exclusively, with the period of incunabula, bibliographical studies were fairly rapidly extended to cover early printed books generally. While these studies were progress-

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ing there was an almost equal amount of attention being paid to the particular and peculiar problems of manuscripts. This was very largely due to the influence of a more scientific study of historical documents generally which emerged slowly throughout the nineteenth century.

In the early years of this present century it became apparent that the major effort in bibliographical work was being directed, by that notable trio of R. B. McKerrow, A. W. Pollard, and Sir W. W. Greg, towards the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century literature in general and the drama in particular.

From those early years onward and particularly with the appearance of such milestones as McKerrow's edition of Nashe, Pollard's work on the Shakespearian folios and quartos and the beginnings of Greg's lifetime study of the English printed drama, there was a growing awareness that bibliographical studies were revolutionizing this field completely. Texts began to be published which were based on far more solid and verifiable evidence than had generally been the case before. The later years of this present century have seen a gradual enlargement of that chronological boundary; the work of men like Sir Geoffrey Keynes in the late seventeenth century, Sir Harold Williams and Herbert Davis in the eighteenth century, John Carter and Michael Sadleir in the nineteenth century. To go no further than these few, who in England alone have made notable contributions, shows how far the study has advanced in a comparatively short time.

The result of many of their labors has been the creation of a text which can be relied upon to a greater extent than before as being the text which is the nearest to the author's intentions. Since bibliographical scholars have set the editing and publication of good texts as one of their chief aims it seems strange that so many of the English schools and departments within our universities pay so little attention to bibliography as a basic discipline. Ever since 1927, when McKerrow published his *Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* the main text book for such work has been readily to hand and the thirty or so years since its publication have brought a wealth of supplementary material which now enables the subject to be studied with very real application to the immediate problems of textual emendation and editing. The fact that far too little is being done in the majority of universities is in itself significant, but the position seems somewhat worse when we read of the attitude towards this newer discipline of some of those who are directing literary studies. In his book *The Muse Unchained*, E. M. W. Tillyard has provided what is

almost the extreme viewpoint that could be expressed by a great literary scholar towards the subject of bibliography. It is to be hoped that as time goes by the English faculties will come to realize the truth of Greg's remark that often more misplaced ingenuity is devoted to defending a wrong reading than to emending it and it should surely be a fundamental part of all literary studies to ascertain the authority of a text before long hours are spent in building up a critical approach to it.

The position so far as librarians are concerned is somewhat different. Librarians are concerned with the study of this subject not with a view to editing a text but rather to knowing something about the editorial practice which will enable them more efficiently to utilize the materials which are under their control. In general terms it would be reasonable to suggest that if a librarian stocks twenty-four different editions of *Hamlet* in his library, and this is by no means unlikely, then it is his bounden duty as a librarian to know something of editorial practice in general and, in particular, the differences in the texts which are on his shelves and the varieties of editorial practice which have created them. It is practically impossible for a librarian to do any serious book selection in a field where more than one edition of a work is available unless he understands sufficient about bibliography to be able to appreciate the differences between the various printings with which he may be presented. This is something which affects not simply the largest libraries and certainly not only those which have collections of older and rarer books. In most years there are a number of new editions of literary works published which are assuredly widely bought by librarians and it would be heartening to think that in their considerations they always gave due emphasis to the standing of the text itself. There are very few works which a librarian of any type of library can add to stock in a course of one year in which some understanding of editorial method is not necessary if he is to discharge his duties with any kind of serious purpose.

Although librarians are not normally called upon, in their own work as librarians, to produce bibliographies of any particular size or complexity, yet the examples which Fredson Bowers has quoted in his article show full clearly that many librarians are not describing their own stock in sufficient detail to enable the scholar to find what he needs. An enormous amount of time in all kinds of libraries is devoted to the cataloging of new acquisitions, yet in many cases it would be true to say that the cataloging procedure which the books undergo is

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so rudimentary as to reveal very little about the book. In view of the number of years during which we have had cataloging codes, or have been working towards new ones, it is disheartening to think that there are comparatively few libraries which have catalogs of which they might justly be proud. They are frequently little more than elementary finding and check lists with no apparent attempt to reveal the resources of the libraries as exemplified in their book stock. It would be wrong to suggest that descriptive bibliography, as Bowers has outlined it, would solve the problem in all cases. Obviously it would not; but it would be markedly effective in the case of certain classes of material and within those areas an acute understanding of bibliography and its problems is essential if anything worth-while is to be accomplished. This is a matter which the profession must take far more seriously than hitherto since they have few duties which can be regarded as more important than revealing the resources of their libraries to aspiring readers.

The third reason why librarians need to have a good grounding in bibliography is that they may be able to use the bibliographical tools which they have arrayed around themselves. It takes considerable knowledge and skill to compile a good catalog or a good bibliography and it is equally to be remembered that they require a considerable amount of skill in their use. Anybody who has little or no knowledge of basic bibliography is liable to be completely lost with even the simplest bibliographical tool or even the simplest bookseller's catalog. As the tools themselves become more complex and more detailed, so the librarian's knowledge in this area needs to advance considerably if he is to make any adequate use of his material at all.

Some of the finest bibliographical tools which are readily available to many librarians are the catalogs of the great book shops and it is here that we find the third group of people whose knowledge of bibliography needs to be surely founded. The only thing that one can say here is that, of the three categories, it is probably among this body of people that the greatest practical knowledge of bibliography exists at the present time. They are perpetually creating tools which are used not only by those interested in the possibilities of immediate purchase, but also by scholars and by librarians for years to come. It is because of the needs of the antiquarian book trade in this direction that one would welcome a livelier approach to the problem within many of the universities, although after some kind of initial training it is undoubtedly true that the best training is likely to be given within

the great book shops themselves. There is no reason why we should not see a far greater exchange of staff in the future between book shops and libraries as we have already seen in some few instances to the great benefit, one imagines, of both sides. The accession of David Randall to the rare book collection of Indiana University from Messrs. Scribner is a case in point and one would wish to see more moves of this kind in both directions.

There is such a wide variety of areas in which the teaching of bibliography can be carried out that it is difficult to select the most generally important ones without regard to a student's individual requirements. It would seem that there are at least six major areas in which some grounding in bibliographical background would be of value.

The first of these is undoubtedly to have some clear understanding of the term itself and the function of bibliography. For too long bibliography has been a term which has been capable of manifold interpretations especially in courses directed towards librarians. The major difficulty has probably been that in the past, courses have been provided on particular aspects of bibliography without there ever having been sufficient time made to introduce courses which attempt a conspectus of the whole of bibliographical work. There are few library schools which do not provide courses on subject areas of bibliography, yet many students enter upon such courses without adequate preparation in general bibliography and their understanding of subject bibliography must, in consequence, be severely limited. In particular it tends to create a situation where subject bibliographical work is little more than mere listing. Equally, with other specialized courses which have been arranged; although they are not inadequate in themselves, they are inclined to give a student who is new to the subject some lack of balance between his part of the subject field and others with which he might later come into contact. Admittedly, it is not easy to produce any simple definition of the term which will satisfy all needs. There are, however, a number of works and articles which should be regarded as absolutely basic reading to anyone who has started to study any part of bibliography since they alone can provide an adequate background.

Secondly, no bibliographical work can be pursued with any real chance of success if it is done without some knowledge of printing house and publishing procedure of all periods. While it is difficult to say exactly what the limits of knowledge of printing practice should

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be in relation to this, it will perhaps prove most satisfactory to say that it is the kind of treatment which McKerrow gave in his *Introduction to Bibliography*. In that work he enunciated the idea that a bibliographer stands a better chance of being able to solve the problem with which he is faced if he knows sufficient about the printing practice of the period with which he is concerned to be able to imagine himself standing behind the printer's shoulder and to oversee all his actions. If only it were possible for a bibliographer to do this in all cases of doubt and confusion, things would be much clearer. It is here that historical bibliography, which is sometimes treated as being little more than a rather minor aspect of cultural history, or at its best something which provides a certain liberalizing element in the program of a library school, can be of very real use to the student bibliographer. When he is faced with a problem he is helped enormously if he can study that problem within the context of a wide knowledge of publishing, of authorship, of bookselling and of printing. It is this which he needs more than anything else. It need hardly be said that in order to gain this understanding of printing practice there is no reason for him to dabble in the aesthetic sides of book production as he is compelled to by some present day courses.

Apart from its bibliographical implications the librarian needs to be conscious of the physical form of the book as a finished product and a greater awareness of this in the profession could help to remove some minor irritations. One small, perhaps unimportant but annually frustrating, feature of American periodical publications in the field of librarianship argues this lack of book consciousness among librarians. The final issues in each volume of the *A.L.A. Bulletin* and the *Library Quarterly* both include title leaves which it is impossible to use for the proper purpose of title leaves without considerable difficulty. In the December 1958 issue of *A.L.A. Bulletin* the title leaf to Volume 52 is conjugate with pages 797/798. In binding this entails the unsatisfactory tipping-in of the title leaf and, if it is wished to retain pages 797/798 also, although they are only advertisements, this leaf will need similar treatment. In the October 1958 issue of *The Library Quarterly* the title leaf to Volume 28 and the contents leaf to the volume are conjugate with two leaves of text. Unless, therefore, one wishes to sacrifice four pages of Douglas Bryant's paper this arrangement necessitates the tipping-in of four separate leaves in binding. It is not suggested that these are major problems of bibliography but they appear to be symptomatic of a profession

which is increasingly losing contact with the physical structure of the book.

When the student has done sufficient thinking on the subject to enable him to be able to approach practical problems there is then nothing more necessary than that he should do some work for himself. The most important initial task should be to be able to collate and describe a number of selected examples. Selection is necessary because a tutor needs to feel certain that a student would be faced with a sufficient variety of problems to extend him over this area of his practical work. The student also gains by taking some small area, either a subject field or the work of an author or, perhaps even better, one individual work and setting himself to do some kind of bibliographical survey.

To suggest to him that he should produce a bibliography, in the proper sense of the word, would be to bring him up with entirely the wrong ideas. The compilation of a bibliography is the work of years, in some cases of a lifetime, and it is a dis-service to a student to set him a problem which can obviously not be encompassed in the time available, forcing him to accept a standard which he might later come to regard as an acceptable one. An exercise in the compilation of a bibliography is also often associated too much with the problem of arrangement. No scheme for the arrangement of a bibliography can possibly be evolved until the major part of the material has been gathered together. To ask a student to discuss the arrangement of a bibliography when he is not aware of the full range of material to be included in an essay is foolishness which distorts a student's understanding of bibliography. If, however, a student were given the task of investigating the bibliographical history of, shall we say, one particular book, it would cause him to range over existing bibliographical tools, many of which he would prove, by his own analysis, to be imperfect. At the same time he would have to do a considerable amount of comparative work between the various printings of his subject matter. There are many other ways in which one can imagine practical work being meted out to a student but these are two which this writer believes could be especially fruitful. It could be equally advantageous if he were to work with a tutor who was engaged in a bibliographical study in which the student could play a part. This could mean that he would be engaged upon something which was more realistic in terms of the final outcome and also that he would have the benefit of working with someone of greater experience. The danger

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would be that research students of this kind are occasionally used to doing soul destroying drudgery which, although it is not in itself a bad thing, can sometimes be sterile and crush any possible interest on the part of the student.

The next three fields are of background interest to a greater extent than the three foregoing. A student is, almost by definition, one who has not been around long enough to have accumulated any considerable amount of experience in the particular area in which he is studying. For this reason he must use every possible means to remedy that lack of personal experience. So far as bibliography is concerned he can add measurably to his background by reading extensively in the writings of those who have themselves been concerned with books for a major part of their lives.

Librarians have never been among the most important authors of their generations and very few of them have chosen to write widely on bookish matters, nor have many of them had sufficient experience of matters relating to bibliography in their working lives. There is far more fruitful material among the writings which are sometimes dismissed almost contemptuously by bibliographers as being little more than expressions of amateurish book collecting. Admittedly the practicing book-collector covers so wide a range of individuals as to be almost meaningless but there are books written about book collecting which help to provide an important background for the young student. Titles spring to mind fairly easy and one thinks of works as different from each other as the *Phillipps Studies*, recently completed under the editorship of A.N.L. Munby, or Wilmarth Lewis's *Collector's Progress*. The literature of book collecting and book-selling is vast and next to the enjoyment which can be derived from talking to experienced booksellers and book collectors is the opportunity to read of their activities.

Apart from the contact with his tutor, we have so far left the young student in rather lonely isolation. Bibliography is not, on the whole, a subject which is suited to over-much isolation since it depends for its well-being on the kind of human contacts which bring forth argument and discussion with kindred spirits. To this end it is a good thing that many of the larger libraries of the world have themselves been founts of great bibliographical endeavor and some of the greatest projects have, in fact, been born within them. One need only think of the devoted work of Proctor on the early printed books in the British Museum and in the Bodleian Library to realize how much

he, and other bibliographers after him in turn, relied upon the wealth of those two collections. The great libraries have also sponsored large numbers of important bibliographical tools, and to think of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Cambridge University Library, John Rylands Library, the Library of Congress, Harvard University Library, and the Henry E. Huntington Library, is to realize how much richer the world of bibliography is because of these great collections. It is not simply that, as collections, they have brought together this enormous quantity of important material but also that they have encouraged, and are encouraging, work to be done upon those collections. Running side by side with these, although in somewhat more informal guise, are the societies which endeavor to cultivate an interest in bibliographical affairs. The more venerable ones such as the Roxburghe Club in Great Britain or the Grolier Club in New York may have been designed originally for a rather dilettante book collector but they have certainly changed as the years have gone by, while the newer bibliographical societies which have followed in their wake have been responsible for a great mine of important bibliographical work.

In the United Kingdom the Bibliographical Society and the Bibliographical Societies of Oxford and Cambridge have done and are continuing to do important work, which is mirrored in the United States by the activities of the Bibliographical Society of America and the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia. Again, to look at the list of their publications is to see only a part of the pattern. In the long run their influence may well prove to have been the greater because they provided a meeting place at which people with similar interests could meet and discuss their enthusiasms and problems. Certainly the growth of bibliographical studies in this century would have assumed a very much less important pattern had it not been for the great libraries and the societies. The student bibliographer can never do better when he is beginning to widen his interests than to explore the collections in the libraries to the greatest extent possible and to join a bibliographical society and so meet his fellow practitioners. There is an off-shoot of this which although it rarely receives any great amount of attention is equally important and might, to a certain type of person, be of supreme interest. Bibliography and gastronomy have always gone, if not hand in hand, at least fairly closely side by side, and one would always wish to pay tribute to those societies which, under the guise of dining clubs, have provided

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a meeting place for those choice spirits which have two great interests in common.

When a student has at last been led through periods of instruction and of self education in all these various areas he should, if all has gone well, have given himself the background which he will need if he is to enlarge his technical experience as the years go by. One thing more is possible. Sir Thomas Browne said that it was opportune to look back and contemplate our forefathers. The forefathers of modern bibliography may not be many and their careers may not be sufficiently well documented to enable the modern student to understand their work in any detail. Nevertheless, this writer would never wish to leave a student on this subject without suggesting that the reading of biographies of bibliographers is in itself not only a legitimate pastime but can also be a singularly helpful one. Some have come to be regarded as important biographies in their own right and M. R. James said that Prothero's *Memoir of Henry Bradshaw* was "something of a classic, I think, among biographies of scholars."¹ It is certainly one which reveals its subject remarkably well. Its defects are little more serious than those which one can expect to find in a slightly biased biography of the late nineteenth century. But whether they be major critical studies or charming expressions of an unforgettable personality such as S. G. Lubbock's² delightful little memoir of M. R. James himself, they will not infrequently refresh the minds of the student and, in contemplation, lead him to further and fuller efforts.

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